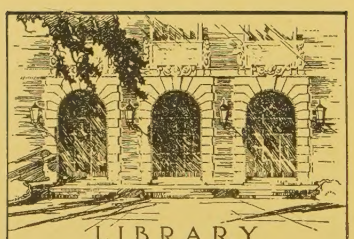

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THE
POLYPHONIC PERIOD OF MUSIC

PART II

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
LONDON, EDINBURGH
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THE OXFORD HISTORY OF MUSIC

VOL. II

THE POLYPHONIC PERIOD. PART II

METHOD OF MUSICAL ART, 1300–1600

BY

H. E. WOOLDRIDGE, M.A.

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
1905

OXFORD
PRINTED AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
BY HORACE HART, M.A.
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

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PREFACE

When preparing the first volume of this work I was permitted by the kindness of the keeper of the Laurentian Library at Florence to have a considerable number of pages of the *Antiphonarium Mediceum* photographed, and was thereby enabled not only to study its methods at leisure, but also to exhibit some interesting examples in facsimile. I had hoped to obtain similar material for the present volume, and to give illustrations of another very remarkable work in the same Library, commonly known as the Squarcialupi MS., containing compositions by Landini and his school, but permission to make photographs was in this case, I regret to say, not accorded. For my examples from this work, therefore, and from some others in Florence, I am indebted to the courtesy of a student of the MS., Mr. J. Wolf, and of Messrs. Breitkopf and Haertel, who published a number of that gentleman's transcriptions in the quarterly Journal of the *Internationale Musikgesellschaft.* The examples of the work of Machault I owe to the kindness of the authorities of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, who allowed all necessary photographs to be made.

I desire also to thank Mr. Godfrey Arkwright for permission to print an extract from his edition of Tye's six-part Mass *Euge bone*, Mr. J. R. Stainer and Miss Stainer for leave to use their published facsimiles and transcriptions of MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Miss Stainer for most kindly scoring many examples from printed part-books, and Mrs. H. E. Wooldridge for translating large portions of important German works for my use.

H. E. WOOLDRIDGE.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

The First Development of Polyphony

	PAGE
Ars Nova	1
Musica Ficta	63
The Hexachordal System	72
Faulx Bourdon	81

CHAPTER II

Formation of Schools

England before and including Dunstable	126
France and the Gallo-Belgic Provinces	170
The Proportional System	202
Okeghem and Josquin Desprès	211

CHAPTER III

The Netherland School

Contemporaries of Josquin	241
Pupils of Josquin	259
Secular Music, France	275
„ „ Italy	286
Offshoots of the Flemish Stock, Venice	299
„ „ Poland	300
„ „ Spain	306

CHAPTER IV

The English School

PAGE

Music after Dunstable and before the Reformation 315

During the Reformation Period 340

CHAPTER V

The Perfection of the Method

Lassus 359

Wilbye 365

Palestrina 374

The Followers of Palestrina 391

INDEX 396

ERRATA

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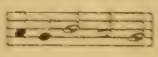
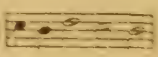
for  read 

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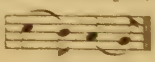
for  read

„ 80, for *ut re ut* read *re ut re*.

THE SECOND PART OF THE POLYPHONIC PERIOD OF MUSIC

CHAPTER I

THE FIRST DEVELOPMENT OF POLYPHONY

'ARS NOVA[1]'

HAVING in the former volume of the present work discussed the origin, the rise, and the first constitution of Polyphony, we may now proceed, in that part of our undertaking which still lies before us, to consider the various phases of its development.

And first it may be said that the actual commencement of this development, which continued unbroken to the end of the sixteenth century, is not clearly to be observed, as we might perhaps have supposed, in that culmination of the early methods of discant, known as the Franconian system, to which we have just referred as the first constitution of Polyphony. That system, in its main features a combination of melodies cast in various strongly marked poetic rhythms, reconciled upon the common ground of an exclusively triple measure, and requiring concord upon the strong beat only, must in fact be perceived, notwithstanding the appearance of great resources and multifarious

[1] *Ars nova* was a name often used by the musicians of the fourteenth century to distinguish their methods from those of the Franconian period, which they called *Ars antiqua*, and in this sense it was adopted as the title of their earliest treatise.

activity which it derives from the numerous contemporary forms of composition, as of extremely limited capacity. Indeed, if we regard the music of this period not only from the theoretical point of view but also as the subject of performance, the restricted nature of its means and the limitations of its prospect are both clearly apparent; for the subservience of all other considerations to those of continuity of rhythm, and the consequent complete confinement of interest within the bounds of a peculiarly rigid ternary measure, must necessarily give rise to methods which are not only fatiguing in their monotony, but which would seem also to offer in themselves no suggestion of improvement, since the defects are radical, and arise from the nature of the system. The compositions of the thirteenth century therefore may be said to represent rather the close of the old state of things than the beginning of the new, and it will probably appear, from our examination of the methods immediately succeeding, that although much of the older system was incorporated in the new, the actual development of music, as we understand it, which was now inaugurated, had its beginning, not in the Franconian *cantus mensurabilis*, but in the reaction against it.

This reaction was first displayed in a return to the duple measure, which was now again brought forward to stand beside the triple as a means of at least equal importance for the art of music. The circumstances of this restoration are unknown, though they have often been guessed at, and by most writers upon the subject are supposed to be connected with the popular vocal and instrumental practice of the time; but since everything of importance respecting this also is unknown, and we are therefore without the means of properly justifying an opinion with regard to its possible influence upon the learned methods, we shall probably do well to follow our usual course, in contenting ourselves with such suggestions as may be obtainable from the contemporary treatises.

The earliest mention of the renewed existence of the duple

measure is probably that which occurs in the treatise of Walter Odington—written about the year 1280—as part of an account of various erroneous methods adopted in his time for the notation of the modes of rhythm. After reference to several special peculiarities of treatment in the third and fourth modes (the dactylic and the anapaestic), he continues—'There are other musicians whose figuration of the longs, breves, and pauses in these modes is indeed the same as my own, but (in their valuation) they divide the long into two breves only, as if it contained two times,'—the *tempus* it will be remembered was *brevis recta*—'and the breve into two semibreves, seldom three; also their long pause occupies but two spaces, and the breve one[1].'

Odington makes no comment, but the passage itself is already most suggestive, for it is certainly a curious circumstance that this information should be given by the very author who also in another part of the same work, and in treating of the same modes, refers as a matter of historical interest to the original alteration of the old duple long to triple value, as a necessity of the ternary system, which first revealed itself in those modes[2]. May we not therefore, we are encouraged to ask, infer from Odington's statement, just given, that the constant distortion of the dactyl and anapaest in triple measure—always noticeable from the fact that apart from the *cantus mensurabilis* these metres must of course have maintained their propriety—had at length become so intolerably wearisome to musicians, that in the rendering of passages confined to the third and fourth modes the temptation to return to the true values proved sometimes irresistible; and that thus the system which first came through these modes now received, also through them, the first and most deadly of the blows which were to end it?

Be this, however, as it may, it is clear from Odington's state-

[1] 'Alii autem, in his modis, utuntur longis et brevibus et semibrevibus et pausis secundum quod ego accipio, sed tantum dividunt longam in duas breves, ut duo tempora habentem, et brevem in duas semibreves, et raro in tres. Et pro longa duo spatia occupat pausa, pro brevi unum.' *Cousse. Script.* i. 245.

[2] See *ante*, vol. i. pp. 105, 106, 121.

ment that the binary system, considered as a means of composition for concerted voices, was already in his time again in existence, and there is abundant evidence to prove that at the opening of the fourteenth century it was firmly established both in France and Italy, and that its regulation, so far as was at first necessary, was complete. Its recognition involved certain changes of more or less importance, of which perhaps the most striking was the entire renunciation of the former governing principle implied in the invention of the six modes of rhythm. This apparently was inevitable, since the recovery of the old binary values of the third and fourth modes, so clearly suggested by Odington, must have been at once destructive of the artificial scheme, so far as those modes were concerned, and it is evident that no new system of the same kind, upon the foundation of one simple measure embracing the whole of music in its uniformity, was any longer possible. The rhythm of one sort, therefore, which had hitherto governed the composition, confining the polyphonic melody within the strictest limits, now gave way to the bipartite structure of musical Time, with all its complicated possibilities, and a new system arose, in which the ternary elements of the old invention were represented in a Perfect scheme, while an Imperfect scheme displayed the newly recovered binary measure.

These schemes derived their designations from the two kinds of *longae* upon which they were formed, the fundamental value of the ternary scheme being the old *longa perfecta* and that of the binary scheme the old *longa imperfecta*; and since the ternary scheme now contained all that was left of the old modal structure, its theoretical division of the long—a division into three equal breves only, actually the old sixth mode—was perceived as representative of the old system, and was therefore called *Modus Perfectus*; the duple division of the binary scheme being of necessity raised to the same rank and called *Modus Imperfectus*. In future, therefore, in place of the old system of six modes, similar in character because in all cases reducible to the

value of a perfect long, we shall perceive a new system of two modes only, differing from each other in character, and not reducible to a common value.

MODUS

Perfectus Imperfectus

The origin of both modes may of course be said to be contained in the *duplex longa* from which we derive the two longs shown above, but this value, though still acknowledged, was not yet considered as a part of the new system; the doctrine which included it came later, and the note itself eventually became the *maxima*, or in England the *large*; its division into longs being called *Modus maior*, while the division of the long into breves was called *Modus minor*.

The rules for the long of Mode Perfect were practically the same as those laid down in the Franconian scheme, and since according to those rules the perfection of the long was destroyed by a single breve or its equivalent placed immediately before or after it, it is evident that the Trochaic and Iambic rhythms could still be employed in the new system with their characteristic notation, ■■, ■■, though they were no longer included in its theory. We find, moreover, that the old device of alteration, which gave to two breves the value of three, was also at first continued in the new practice, though no place of course could be found for it in the theoretical scheme. Mode Imperfect was quite simple, the long remaining always of the value of two equal breves.

The division of the breve into semibreves was called *Tempus*, and this, it will be remembered, was also the name often given in the old system to the breve itself. In the *Tempus*, as in the *Modus*, the division was necessarily twofold, consisting of *Tempus Perfectum*, in which each breve was valued as three semibreves, and *Tempus Imperfectum*, in which the value was duple.

TEMPUS

Perfectum Imperfectum

Again, we find that the rules of Franco were continued for the breve of Time Perfect, and it also appears that the old distinction of major and minor semibreves, which corresponded—though in smaller values—to the alteration of breves, still existed in practice; also that the breve of Time Imperfect was again simply divided, and required no rules.

The division of the semibreve into the next possible smaller value—the Minim—was called *Prolatio*, the *enlargement* of the system. This again was both Perfect and Imperfect, the Perfect being of course a division into three minims, and the Imperfect a division into two.

PROLATIO

Perfecta Imperfecta

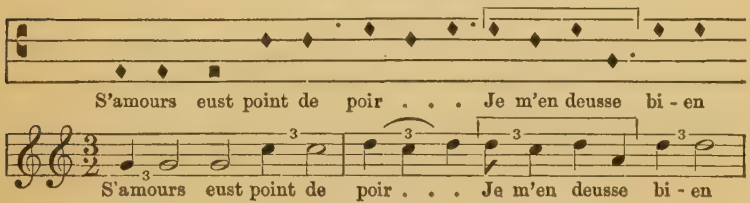
Though unrecognized officially by the older theorists, this important feature of the new system had been already now in use, as a practical necessity, for some time, and by one at least of the earlier musicians—Pierre de la Croix, a composer of the Franconian period—it had been systematically adopted as part of his technical method: Odington also in his treatise had made an attempt towards its regulation, and before the close of the century it had probably become common. At first, the minim was without either distinctive name or figure; it was treated as a lesser kind of semibreve, and was written like the semibreve as a plain lozenge[1]. When, however, attempts were made to regulate it, a distinctive name and figure became necessary; the note loosely called *semibrevis* then appeared as

[1] 'Rursumque invenitur brevis divisa in sex vel septem partes, quas adhuc semibreves vocant minus iuste.' Odington, *Cousse. Script.* i. 236.

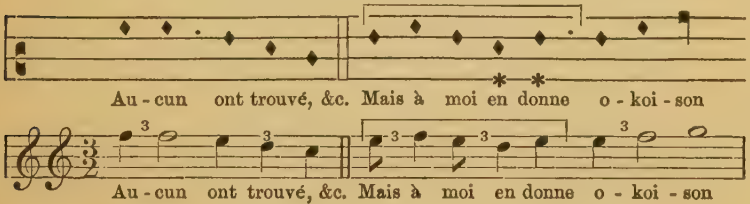
the *Minima*, and the lozenge received the addition of a downward stroke.

In presenting examples of its use, it has been considered that the earlier specimens will naturally be thought to be the more interesting, and since the works of Pierre de la Croix belong in point of time to the former period, and moreover may also be said to throw considerable light upon the origin and nature of the necessity for a smaller value than any hitherto recognized, a few semibreve passages from the Motetts of this author, each intended to be sung in the time of one *brevis recta*, may be given from the fourteenth-century treatise of Jean de Muris, *Speculum Musicae* [1].

i. Four Semibreves.



ii. Five Semibreves.



[1] De Muris even ascribes the first use of this device to Pierre de la Croix.—'Nam ille valens cantor, Petrus de Cruce, qui tot pulchros et bonos cantus composuit mensurabiles et artem Franconis secutus est, quandoque plures tribus pro perfecta brevi semibreves posuit; *ipse primo incepit* ponere quatuor semibreves pro perfecto tempore in triplo illo :—*S'amours eust*, &c. . . . Postea idem ampliavit se et posuit pro uno perfecto tempore nunc quinque semibreves, nunc sex, nunc septem, in triplo illo :—*Aucun ont trouvé*,' &c. *Cousse. Script.* ii. 401. De Muris also gives passages from the same author containing eight and even nine semibreves to the breve, beyond which limit, of course, the multiplication could not proceed otherwise than by a supposition of values still smaller than the minim, not perceived as possible in the thirteenth century.

* For the reference to these notes see p. 9.

iii. Six Semibreves. iv. Seven Semibreves.

In considering passages such as these just given, it will of course be seen that they constitute an actual extension of the method of composition; and with respect to the necessity which gave occasion for their existence, the necessity for values smaller than the semibreve, we may perhaps suppose that it arises from the musician's persevering endeavour to accomplish a certain technical purpose for which the existing methods have proved unsuitable or insufficient; and certainly all or almost all of the permanent enlargements of the scope of artistic practice have appeared as the result of difficulties, carrying the artist beyond the limits and powers of the current method, difficulties which he welcomes, or even himself creates, for his own delight in overcoming them. The application of this supposition to the matter in hand will be made more evident if we consider the probable circumstances in which these passages were produced. The Motetts from the upper parts of which they are taken belong to that large class, already described in the present work[1], in which, apparently, original composition was not attempted, but different existing songs were forced into agreement, both with each other and with the tenor, or subject, which had first been chosen and arranged as a foundation for the artificial structure. The special characteristics, therefore, of the passages given above—their apparent superfluity, and also the highly significant fact that every semibreve contained in them carries a separate syllable of text—would seem to

* For the reference to these notes see p. 9.

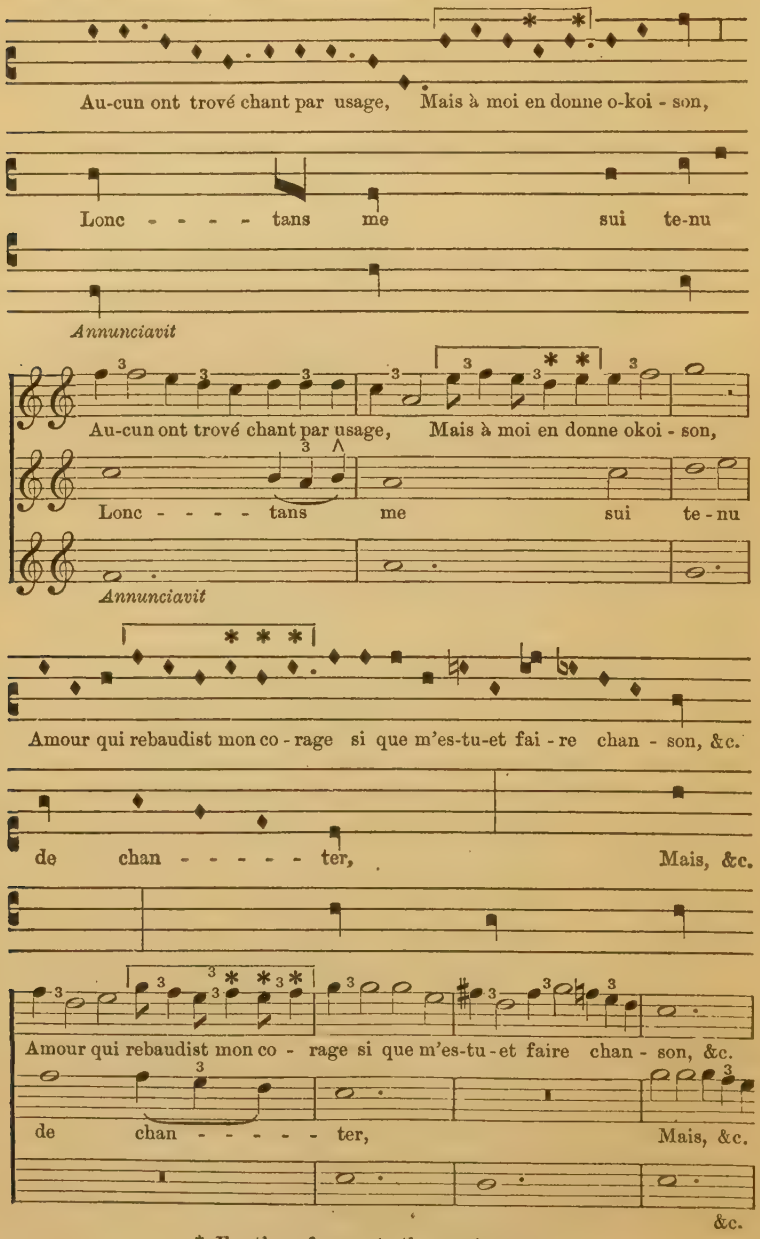
[1] *Ante*, vol. i. pp. 355, 373, 382, 384.

point to the conclusion that the songs from which they were taken must have been of unmanageable length as compared with those with which they were to be combined, and that the passages here shown represent, so to speak, a kind of discharge or overflow of accumulating syllables which threatened from time to time to obstruct the movement, or to render impossible a simultaneous termination of all the parts.

Copies of the Motetts mentioned by De Muris fortunately still exist in the well-known Montpellier MS.; moreover, these have been reproduced by M. de Coussemaker in his account of the collection, under the numbers X and XI of his examples. An examination of them therefore is easy, and it may be said that the evidence revealed by a reference to the context of the important passages here given is apparently altogether favourable to our conjecture with respect to the necessity for the smaller values. In the opening of the second Motett referred to by De Muris, for instance, the upper part or *triplum* of which begins *Aucun ont trouvé*, the composer would seem to have constructed for himself a problem of some difficulty. For above a tenor passage extending over only six perfections, or eighteen breves, and a discantus moving freely in this space with only nine syllables of text, he has undertaken, for the triplum, to bring into equivalence a complete stanza of four long lines of ten and nine alternately, or in all thirty-eight syllables of text; he has also chosen for his own work a type of melody unfavourable to his attempt, for it involves the expenditure of one imperfect long, three breves and one breve rest, and seven major semibreves—or in all thirty-two minor semibreves out of a possible fifty-four—for eleven syllables only, thus leaving twenty-seven syllables to be dealt with by the remaining twenty-two semibreves; he has therefore in the very beginning of his work five syllables too many, and these he disposes of before proceeding further, and provides them with the smaller notes necessary to carry them, by means of the passages shown in our examples from De Muris, ii and iii,

AUCUN ONT TROVÉ.

Library of Medical Faculty, Montpellier, MS. H. 196, Fol. 270.


Au-cun ont trové chant par usage, Mais à moi en donne o-koi - son,
Lonc - - - - tans me sui te-nu
Annunciavit
Au-cun ont trové chant par usage, Mais à moi en donne okoi - son,
Lonc - - - - tans me sui te - nu
Annunciavit
Amour qui rebaudist mon co - rage si que m'es-tu-et fai - re chan - son, &c.
de chan - - - - - ter, Mais, &c.
Amour qui rebaudist mon co - rage si que m'es-tu-et faire chan - son, &c.
de chan - - - - - ter, Mais, &c.
&c.

* For the reference to these notes see p. 9.

where two excessive semibreves are to be found in the first and three in the second, distinguished by stars.

It may of course be said that a different explanation of these passages is possible, and that they may very well be accounted for by the love of embroidery and flourishing of which certain traces are to be observed in the music of the thirteenth century, and especially in the old *organum purum*; but we have hitherto met with no instance of the application of words to any musical embroidery or florification, and the existence therefore of a syllable of text for each note—even the smallest—in our examples, seems conclusively in favour of our own conjecture.

The introduction of initial signs indicative of the prevailing measure of a composition belongs to this period. Such indications were of course unnecessary in the older scheme of uniform triple measure governed by the 'perfection' or beat of three times, and in the new system, even, they were at first not in use; the singer was instructed to recognize the mode of the composition from the number of spaces occupied by the long pause, or if this method failed him he was advised to have recourse to experiment, and to choose the mode in which the notes arranged themselves most easily[1]. Signs were, however, eventually perceived as desirable for the definition of Mode, Time, and Prolation, and with their adoption the elements of the new mensural system may be said to have become complete. The signs were at first as follows:—

Mode Perfect .

Mode Imperfect .

Time Perfect .

Time Imperfect .

Prolation Perfect , afterwards .

Prolation Imperfect , afterwards .

[1] 'Modus perfectus cognoscitur per pausas, quando pause inter longas sunt perfecte, vel quando de longa usque ad aliam longam per numerum ternarium melius quam per binarium tempora computantur.' *Ars Perfecta in Musica. Cousse. Script.* iii. 29.

In the recognition of small or temporary changes in the measure the singer was chiefly helped by a change in the colour of the written notes—from black, that is to say, to red, and from red again to black; various other colours also were in use for similar well-understood purposes[1], but the pigment most often employed, both at this time and thenceforward until the beginning of the sixteenth century, was vermilion. The principal uses of the red notation are described in two of the earliest fourteenth-century treatises—*Ars Perfecta in Musica*, just quoted in the notes, and *Ars Nova*, both ascribed to Philippe de Vitry[2].

The account given by the author of *Ars Nova* is as follows:—'Red notes are used principally for two reasons. Either because the red are to be sung in a different measure from the black, as in the Motett *Thoma tibi obsequia*, where in the tenor the red notes are to be sung in time perfect and mode imperfect, and the black in time imperfect and mode perfect; or they may be used to indicate a difference of mode only, as in the Motett *In arboris*, where in the red notes of the tenor three breves are assumed for the "bar" and in the black two.

[1] Dr. F. Ludwig, in an article in the *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft*, 1902–3, describes a MS. of this period in which more than a dozen simple note-signs are employed, in four different colours, and often two colours together upon one note.

[2] We know that the name of Philippe de Vitry was highly honoured among the theorists of the fourteenth century, but with regard to the identity of the man himself we are still uncertain. His fame arises from the fact that some of the most important innovations of this period—the minim figure, the complete system of prolation, the use of red notes, &c.—are supposed to have been described or mentioned for the first time in treatises usually ascribed to him, and that thus he has generally received the credit of these inventions; such theoretical descriptions, however, can afford no real ground for any special attribution, and should probably be regarded merely as records of changes already accomplished in practice. Moreover, it is extremely doubtful whether the treatises themselves—*Ars Nova*, *Ars Perfecta in Musica*, *Ars Contrapuncti*, *Liber Musicalium*—are really by him; in the view of the fourteenth-century musicians he represented the new state of things as Franco did the old—'Cum antiquitatem per Franconem notum est omnibus tradidisse, novitatemque per Philippum in maiori parte subtiliter invenisse,' says a fourteenth-century writer—and probably for this reason these early fragmentary expositions of the new doctrine, compiled in all likelihood by nameless disciples of the school, appear under his name. De Vitry is sometimes referred to as a composer also, but his music, if it exists, has not at present been identified.

'Another use of red notes is to enjoin singing at the octave in the passages in which they occur, as in *Gratia miseri*, and in the Motett called *Quelz avis*, for in the tenors of these Motetts all the red notes are taken at the octave. The red notes are used also for special purposes, as in *Claerbuch*, where sometimes they indicate that a long followed by a long is not valued as three breves, or that the second of two breves between two longs is not "altera," as in the tenor of *In nova sit animus*; or on the other hand they may mean the contrary of this as regards the longs, and that breve followed by breve is worth three semibreves, as in *In arboris*.

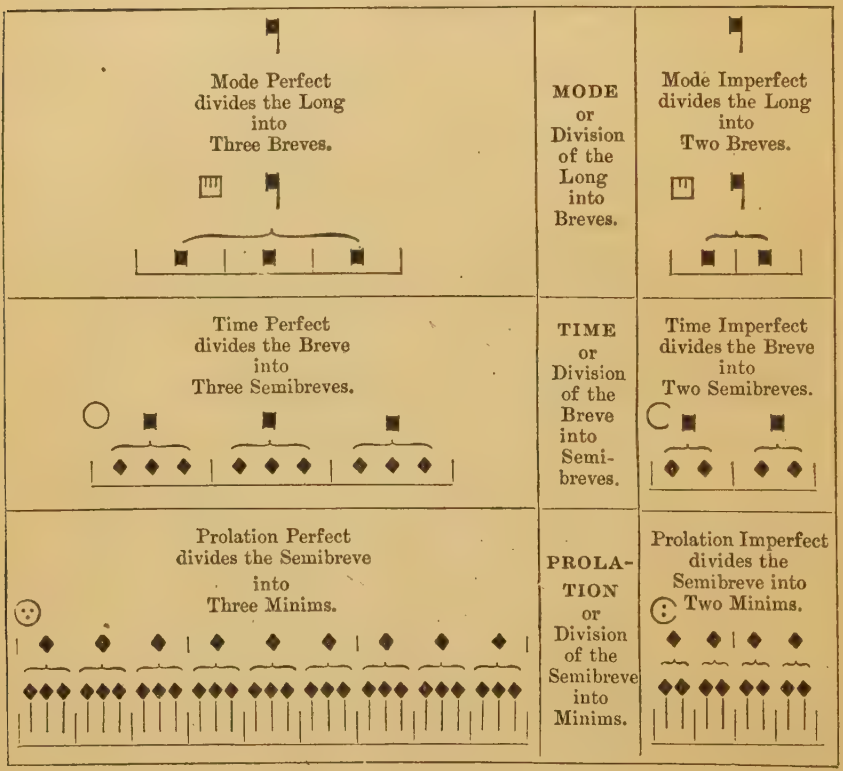
'Red notes are also used sometimes when mode and time are varied, as in *Garison*, for in the tenor of that Motett the black longs are each valued as three perfect breves, and red as two imperfect breves; in other passages too the contrary occurs, as in the tenor of the Motett *Plures errores sunt*.'

The essential purpose of the red notes—to distinguish small or temporary changes of mode, time, and prolation—is alone insisted upon by the author of *Ars Perfecta*, and we are told that as regards the distinction of mode, if the black longs have been reckoned as in mode perfect the following longs in red will indicate mode imperfect, and so also in the contrary sense; as regards the distinction of the tempus, if the black breves have belonged to time perfect the red notes will be imperfect, and so also in the contrary sense; and as regards the final distinction, if the black semibreves should have been of the major prolation the red will be of the minor, and so also again in the contrary sense.

The tendency exhibited in the later of these accounts, the tendency, that is to say, towards a more restricted use of the means afforded by the red notes, and their adaptation only to purposes which were as clearly understood as those of the original notation, is characteristic of the development of the materials of music. A similar tendency we saw, for instance, in the case of the original black notation itself, in which each

figure, at first entirely arbitrary and ambiguous in its application, became by degrees clearly defined in intention and devoted to the expression of one vocal formula and no more.

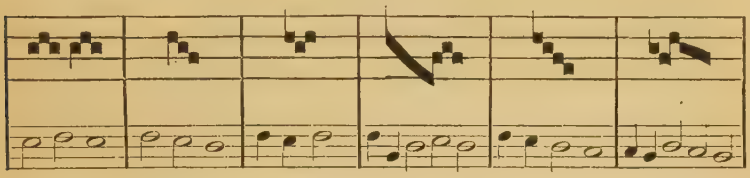
SYSTEM OF THE NOTE VALUES OF 'ARS NOVA' WITH THEIR SIGNS.


Mode Perfect divides the Long into Three Breves.
MODE or Division of the Long into Breves.
Mode Imperfect divides the Long into Two Breves.
Time Perfect divides the Breve into Three Semibreves.
TIME or Division of the Breve into Semi-breves.
Time Imperfect divides the Breve into Two Semibreves.
Prolation Perfect divides the Semibreve into Three Minims.
PROLA-TION or Division of the Semibreve into Minims.
Prolation Imperfect divides the Semibreve into Two Minims.

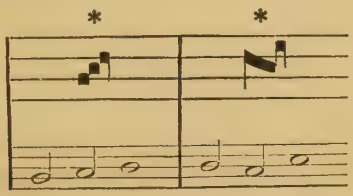
If to the prolations here shown we add those of Time Perfect with Prolation Imperfect, ⊙ or ⊕, and Time Imperfect with Prolation Perfect, ☉ or ⊙, we complete the famous 'four prolations,' popularly ascribed, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, to Philippe de Vitry[1].

[1] It should here be mentioned that the further prolation beyond six minims (the

The ligatures of the older system were continued in the new, and were as freely used in all suitable circumstances as formerly. Most of the figures, and in mode perfect the values also, were the same as before; in mode imperfect, however, certain changes of value, corresponding to those in the plain notation of the mode, were necessary. These are shown in the following example:—



The forms originally derived from the *Podatus*, *Salicus*, and *Porrectus*, in which the final note was placed immediately above the penultimate, were abandoned, and new figures in which the final form was a true long were introduced to take their place *. The stroke constituting the long, though it resembles the old *plica*, could not create confusion, since the *plica* was no longer in use.



The system here described represents the growth of the new methods in France during the last quarter of the thirteenth

Perfect of the Imperfect time) is to be effected, according to *Ars Nova*, by means of semiminims. The same instruction was probably given with respect to nine minims (the Perfect of the Perfect time), but this part of the treatise is apparently incomplete, for although it professes to contain rules for the prolation of the semibreve 'quolibet tempore perfecto sive imperfecto,' those for Imperfect time alone are given. It should not be supposed that the semiminim formed at this time an actual part of the musical scheme; it was mentioned only casually, and in France was seldom used.

century, the period which also saw the steady decline of the old practice and the gradual extinction of some of the most important early forms of composition. Only two of these indeed, as we have already seen, survived. One was the Motett, always extra-liturgical and sometimes frankly secular, continued by the professors of 'Ars Nova' as a vehicle for their comparatively extended and sustained efforts; the other was the Cantilena, by which name was understood a class rather than a special form, a class containing Rondels, Ballads, Chansons, and other things of the same kind which served for the exhibition of a lighter skill. But beside these forms, adopted from the older practice, another, a new species, of the greatest importance in the history of music, was now introduced. This new form was developed in the complete ornate settings of the *Gloria*, *Credo*, *Sanctus*, and other portions of the ordinary of the Mass, which were now for the first time composed. Hitherto the subjects employed in the only strictly liturgical form of polyphonic composition then existing, the form known as Organum Purum, had been taken —both words and music—almost entirely from the Antiphonal and Gradual, while the ordinary of the Mass on the other hand, with the exception of a few detached words such as *Descendit de caelis* or *Benedicamus Domino*, for example, would appear to have been entirely untouched by musicians before the close of the thirteenth century.

An interesting, though by no means exhaustive account of the musical treatment of the various portions of the Mass at this period, is to be found in a MS. in the *Hofbibliothek* at Darmstadt [1]—apparently a late fourteenth-century copy of an earlier treatise written by one Johannes de Grocheo, of whom nothing else is at present known. The portions of the Mass specifically mentioned by this author as receiving choral treatment are the *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, *Offertorium*, *Praefatio*, and *Communio*; perhaps he intends also to include the *Credo*,

[1] Printed, with a German translation by J. Wolf, in the first number of the Quarterly Journal of the *Internationale Musikgesellschaft*, 1899.

Sanctus, *Agnus Dei*, and the *Responsorium* with *Alleluia* and *Sequentia*, but while he says distinctly respecting the former texts that they were composed 'with harmonies' (*concordantiis*), this statement is omitted in referring to the latter. For instance, of the *Kyrie* the author says,—'*Kyrie eleyson* is a cantus composed with many harmonies, ascending and descending, in the method of the simple *cantilena*, and is sung in a sustained manner with many long notes.' Of the *Gloria*,—'A cantus composed with many harmonies, ascending and descending, and divided into versicular sections such as *Qui tollis*, *Qui sedes*, &c.' Of the *Offertorium*,—'A cantus composed with many harmonies, like the *Conductus simplex*, ascending and descending regularly, and beginning, continuing, and ending, according to the rules of the eight modes.' Of the *Introitus*, on the other hand, he says simply '*intonatur*,' and with respect to the *Credo* and the remaining portions his information refers only to their modal character. Yet since choral music for the *Credo*, *Sanctus*, and *Agnus* occurs in the earliest polyphonic Masses known to us, we may suppose that the author did not intend to suggest its absence in those portions of the service of the altar.

Choral compositions of these portions are found, for instance, in M. de Coussemaker's publication of a MS. found at Tournai, which contains the earliest known setting of the Mass; a MS. dating from about the year 1300, and therefore exhibiting also very early specimens of composition in the new manner. Two short extracts are here given, in which already will be observed not only the free use of the minim, but also some of the changes in the method of writing the notes which have been described above as characteristic of *Ars Nova* [1].

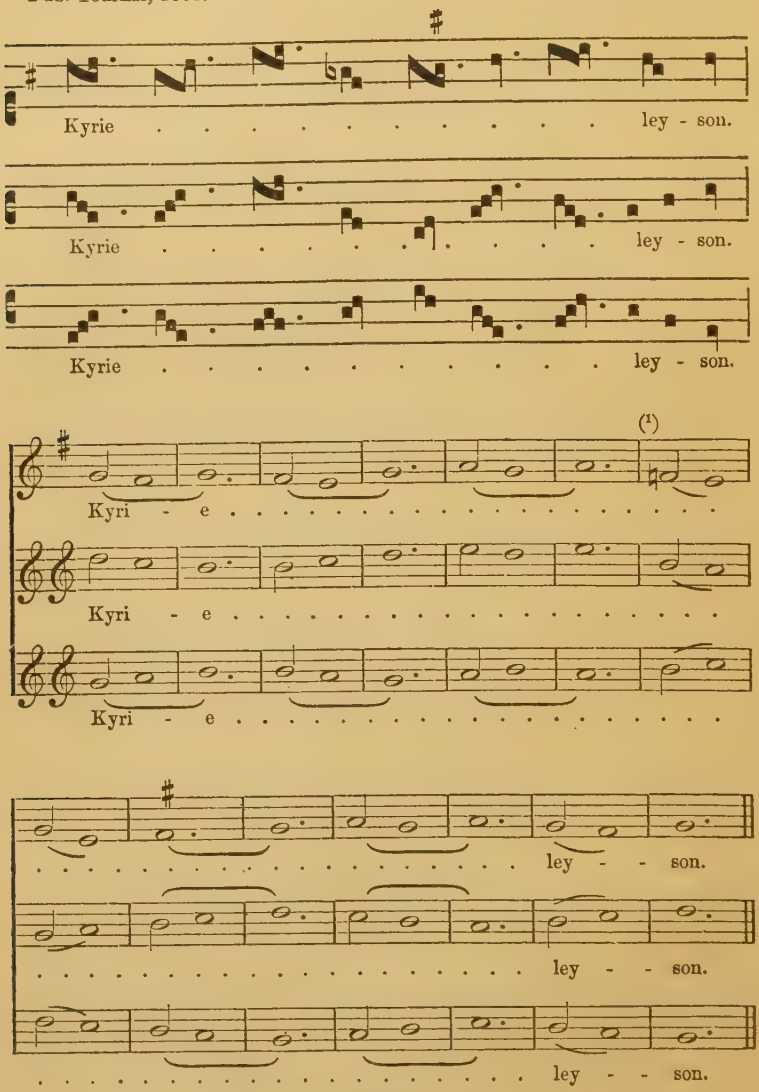
[1] The MS. from which our illustrations are taken is the *Messe de la confrérie des Notaires de Tournai*, until lately in the library of the vicar-general of the diocese, the Abbé Voisin. Examining the transcript made by M. de Coussemaker we find that it contains settings not only of the *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, *Credo*, *Sanctus*, *Benedictus*, and *Agnus Dei*, but also of the *Ite missa est*, which is treated as a motett, with the notes of the office in the tenor; in this composition the *discantus* (here called *motetus*) sings *Cum venerint miseri de Gentes*, &c., while the *triplum* has a French text, *Se grasse nest a mon maintien*, &c.

I.

KYRIE ELEISON.

'Messe du xiii^me siècle.'
Pub. Tournai, 1861.

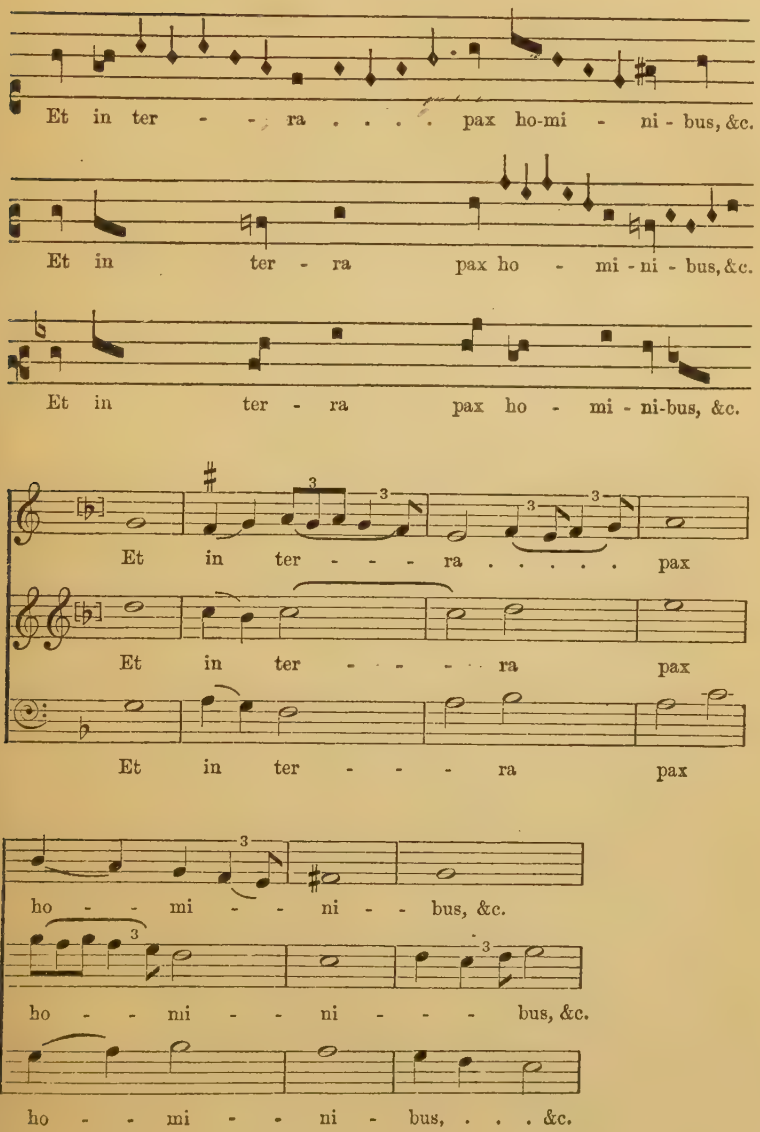
Transcribed by
C. E. H. de Coussemaker.



[1] Thus in MS.

II.

ET IN TERRA PAX, ETC.


Et in ter - - ra . . . . pax ho-mi - ni - bus, &c.
Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus, &c.
Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni-bus, &c.
Et in ter - - - - ra . . . . . pax
Et in ter - - - - ra pax
Et in ter - - - - ra pax
ho - - mi - - - ni - - bus, &c.
ho - - - mi - - - ni - - - bus, &c.
ho - - mi - - - ni - bus, . . . &c.

In this MS.[1] the influence of the older system is still apparent in the choice of measure, only two of the numbers, for instance *Gloria* and *Credo*, being in the new imperfect mode. In the counterpoint[2], however, a later taste prevails; thirds and sixths, for example, are now much more frequent than in the characteristic works of the thirteenth century; discords also, though not entirely banished from practice, are infrequent, and are used only singly, and in a guarded manner, in passing from concord to concord; indeed, so far was this feature, though constant in the old practice, from receiving any recognition from the writers of the new period, that for many the name itself had lost its old signification, and had been transferred to the imperfect concords, which were now often referred to as *discordantiae*. The melodies of the voice parts also differ widely from those proper to *Ars Antiqua*. Not only the discouragement of discord, but the prohibition of consecutive perfect concords of one kind, which was now theoretically enforced, rendered the impetuous metrical flow of the individual voices—so remarkable in the thirteenth-century music—for the present at least impossible. This therefore necessarily gives place to melody of a tentative character, in which also is perceptible the desire to create contrapuntal formulae, based upon the principal habits of progression, and characteristic and pleasing as regards both melody and harmony. This tendency, which we formerly already saw in a marked

[1] Were access to the orginal MS. at present possible, longer extracts than those now printed would gladly have been offered here. But unfortunately its present possessor is unknown, and the transcription by M. de Coussemaker, though from its considerable extent it gives a good idea of general principles, cannot be relied upon for detailed examples; even in our short extracts from the transcript two passages have needed emendation.

[2] The word Counterpoint now appears in the principal treatises of the new period as the equivalent of Discant, in that sense, that is to say, in which it defines the intervals which form the materials of composition, and demonstrates the best methods of progression, note against note (*punctus contra punctum*), from one concord to another, in all combinations of perfect and imperfect, and in various circumstances. In order to save space, the details of this system will not now be displayed; they much resemble the best rules of discant, and will moreover of necessity appear in the various examples of composition hereafter to be given.

degree in the English music of the previous century [1], is also to be distinguished in the Mass of Tournai, though perhaps not altogether so clearly in the *Kyrie*.

It is of course probable that all the music of the first years of the fourteenth century was similar in character to the specimens just given, but we cannot unhesitatingly assume this as a fact, for although the belief is supported by a majority of the theoretical works belonging to this period, which indicate, as we have seen, a general progressive direction in the contemporary effort, it is also true that other important treatises of the same period, such as that of De Muris, for example, are reactionary in intention [2]; moreover, actual specimens of the musical composition

[1] See *ante*, vol. i. p. 308.

[2] Professor Riemann (*Geschichte der Musiktheorie*, p. 228) distinguishes two writers on music, both also mathematicians, named Johannes de Muris, of whom one, called Normannus, was connected by birth with this country, while the other, whose Christian name was perhaps really Julianus, lectured for many years in Paris, at the Sorbonne. In distinguishing these two individuals concealed under a single name, Prof. Riemann has been chiefly guided by the opposite character of the doctrines, ascribed to an apparently single personality, which are displayed in *Speculum Musicae* (*Cousse. Script.* ii. 193) on the one hand, and in *Musica Speculativa* (Gerbert, *Script.* iii. 283) on the other. This antagonism is of course plain to the student, the first-mentioned work being, as has been said above, reactionary in character, while the second enters heartily into the forward movement, and no doubt the fact that both treatises, though antagonistic, bear the same author's name, might well in itself afford sufficient ground for the belief that they represent the work of separate persons, named alike and holding different opinions. Yet when we consider that the actual case of De Muris is not the only one of the same kind, and that the name of Franco of Cologne is given not only to *Ars cantus mensurabilis* but also to the little compendium beginning 'Ego Franco de Colonia' (*Cousse. Script.* i. 154), in which the doctrine is much later in date than that of the great authoritative treatise, and further, that the name of Johannes de Garlandia (or Gallandia, as he is called in two of the best copies of his great work) is attached also later to a short account of the rules of fourteenth-century counterpoint (*Cousse. Script.* iii. 12), the supposition of the existence of two individual writers entitled to bear the same name—if considered as a suitable explanation of the facts—loses, from repetition, much of its probability. We admit the case of the two Francos—of Paris and Cologne—for their separate existence has been attested by an important witness, the Anonymus of the British Museum; but as regards the name of Johannes de Muris, or of Johannes de Garlandia, or any other, given apparently to two distinct persons writing upon the same subject, may we not rather—observing that the name itself in question is always a famous one—suppose that while in one case it is the true name of the bearer, in the other it has been either assumed by a writer doubtful of his own authority, or adopted by a scribe unwilling to present his copy as anonymous?

of this date, which might decide the matter, are exceedingly rare, the Mass of Tournai being in fact the only known example of any importance of the methods of this time that we possess. Nor can we speak more positively with respect to the compositions which must have been produced during the remaining years of the first quarter of the century, in which the regulation of the newly acquired material, and the gradual development of its advantages, were doubtless exhibited, for of these also nothing is as yet known; indeed, for the first characteristic specimens of fourteenth-century music, specimens in which the aims and methods of the period are completely revealed, we must turn to the two large collections, preserved at Paris and at Chantilly, of the works of the great representative French poet and musician, Guillaume de Machault, composed probably between the years 1325 and 1370.

Machault, from his long and close association with royal persons—an association extending indeed over the whole of the first half of the century—has been sometimes classed with the knightly *trouvères*; yet his real place is not among these distinguished amateurs, for he was at once both less and more than they [1]. Less, socially, since he occupied in the households

[1] The *trouvères*, during the period in which they were most numerous, fashionable, and flourishing—the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—were essentially poets, and of gentle birth. They sang their lays, for which they themselves composed suitable melodies, but disdained to acquire a knowledge of accompaniment, considering the manipulation of an instrument as beneath the dignity of a gentleman. Professional musicians therefore—jongleurs and minstrels—were hired for this purpose, and supported the voices of the singers no doubt by means of the same rudely skilful methods, whatever these may have been, with which they embellished their own songs.

It is of course difficult to suppose that the musical forms evolved by a movement so influential, and so widely extended, as that which gave rise to the *trouvère* melodies should have failed to produce some effect, even though superficial, upon the character of the learned music then in the course of its formation; in order, however, to trace this, we need first a proper method for the translation of these melodies, and this is at present wanting. Such a method, however, will probably be reached through a consideration of the structure of the poetic text, for there can be little doubt that the notation of the songs displays the same intention as that of the motetts in the Florence MS., which marks the place of each note in the scale, but leaves its duration to be decided by the value of the syllable in the metrical scheme. If this should be so, and the music of these songs should be redeemed from the ridiculous jog-trot of the principal existing translations, and

of Jeanne of Navarre, Johann of Bohemia, and Jean of France, successively, the undistinguished post of secretary; and more, artistically, from the qualities revealed in his work, which represents, both in poetry and music, the highest points gained in France during the age of serious artistic effort in which he lived. The remarkable improvements which he effected in the technique of French poetry, giving rise, indeed, among his own countrymen to a comparison between himself and his contemporary Petrarch, may be left to be understood and appreciated by students of verse, while our attention must be confined in the present work entirely to his music; respecting this, however, it may be said that the exact nature of his special advances in that art must remain unrecognized by us until we are better informed respecting the works which immediately preceded his.

In turning to the collections of Machault's music we find, as indeed we should expect, that he there appears as a composer chiefly of *cantilenae*, a class of works including almost all the secular forms then in use; but he also reveals a strong inclination towards the Motett, and has even composed, elaborately, one setting of the ordinary of the Mass, in four and five parts.

This setting of the Mass—of material, that is to say, which considered as the subject of musical treatment was at this time still relatively new—is naturally of considerable interest, and especially as regards the plan of its construction. This, as we may gather for instance from the four-part *Agnus Dei*—which gives an excellent idea of the methods of the work, and of which one movement has been taken as our illustration—is largely

shown as truly metrical in character, then it is possible that the influence of *trouvère* melody may be seen as at least partly accounting for the peculiar character of that which belongs to the polyphony of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,—of the long flowing passages, that is to say, in poetic metres, which we have seen as undoubtedly mainly characteristic of that period, but the existence of which we were unable to explain. Only as regards the melody, however, could the *trouvères* have produced any effect upon the learned music, since they were, as has been said, essentially composers for the single voice; and although they began later, both in the south and in the north-east of France, to attempt—as Adam de la Hale did, for instance—the composition of polyphonic music, by that very fact they promoted their own extinction as melodists, and their absorption into the general body of practical musicians.

founded upon that of the Motett. In the lowest voice the ecclesiastical melody is displayed, though not strictly, in figures resembling the rhythmic ordines, and without words; in the voice immediately above are to be found phrases of a similar character, but exhibiting a greater degree of freedom; while in the two upper parts the movement is entirely free, and now reveals no trace whatever of the dependence upon poetic metre —still visible in some degree in the Mass of Tournai—which was the principal characteristic of the polyphonic melody of the thirteenth century. And this complete freedom was in all probability one of Machault's musical innovations.

His treatment of the Motett, on the other hand, was intensely conservative, and would seem to have been governed by a consideration of the great age of this form, and by the fact that it was the single remaining representative of the old serious kinds of composition. Be this, however, as it may, it will be obvious from our example that in Machault's time the development of the Motett beyond the stage which it had reached at the end of the thirteenth century had scarcely begun. We still find that a fragment of plainsong, loosely set out in passages imitating the old ordines, serves for the tenor, and that above this two French songs are arranged as motetus (the old discantus) and triplum; moreover, both are in poetic metre, and though the motetus exhibits a certain freedom, inasmuch as it is not strictly controlled by old rules, the triplum is from beginning to end in Trochaic rhythm, without variation.

The special secular forms of composition included in the generic term *cantilena* which are to be found in the collections of Machault's works, are the *Rondeau*, the *Ballade*, and the *Chanson Balladée*. Examining these it will be seen, as regards the first, that the rondeau of Machault differs entirely from the example given by Walter Odington, and considerably also from that of Adam de la Hale. The text consists of eight lines of eleven syllables, and in this it resembles Adam de la Hale's *Fines Amourettes*, already given [1], but the ingenious and

[1] *Ante*, vol. i. p. 325.

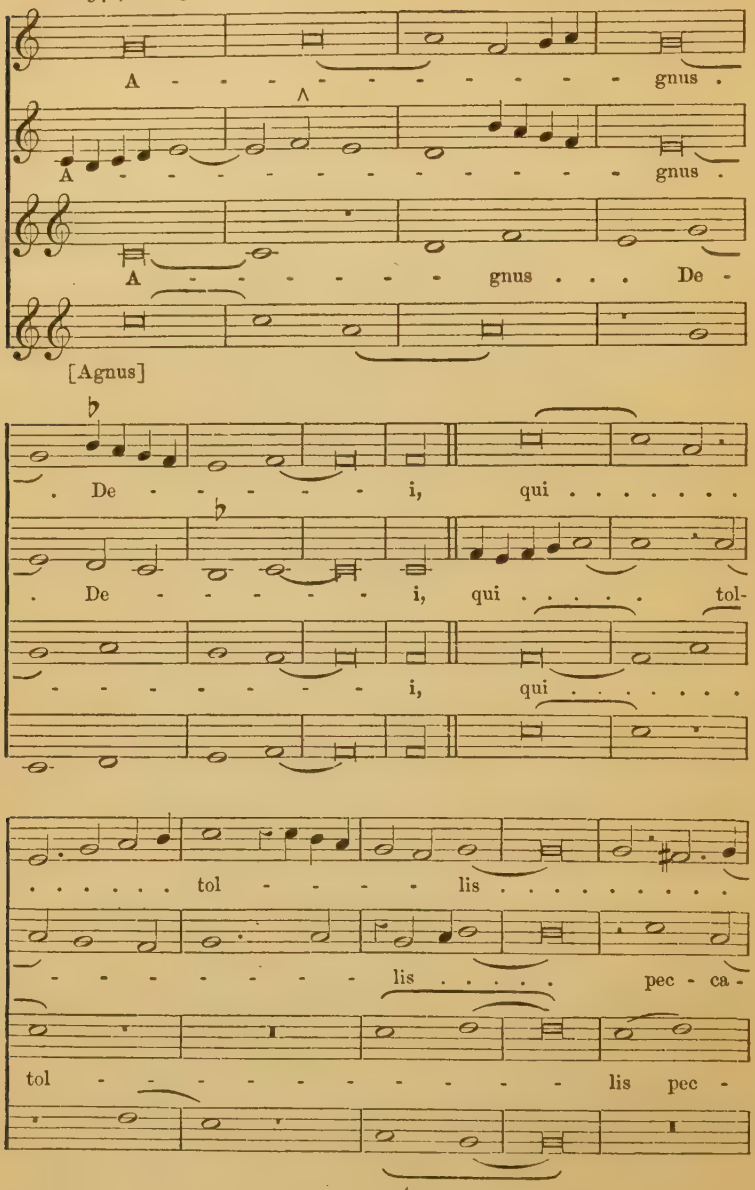
characteristic repetition of the first and second lines in various situations which is to be found in Machault's specimen is absent from the form adopted by Adam de la Hale; on the other hand the music of the earlier work is full of melodic repetition, while little of this, apparently, is to be found in the later one. Also it is to be noticed that the poetic rhythm and its syllabic adaptation to the words, which govern the whole of De la Hale's composition, have been abandoned by Machault, who indeed recognizes no formal connexion at all between words and music, beyond that which is created by the coming together of the voices in a distinct close at each *caesura* and at the end of each line. With respect to the number of voices employed in Machault's form of rondeau, these might be either two, three, or four; the text, which is only to be found in one of the parts, was always given to the upper voice, the remaining voices probably singing upon some vowel, in the old manner.

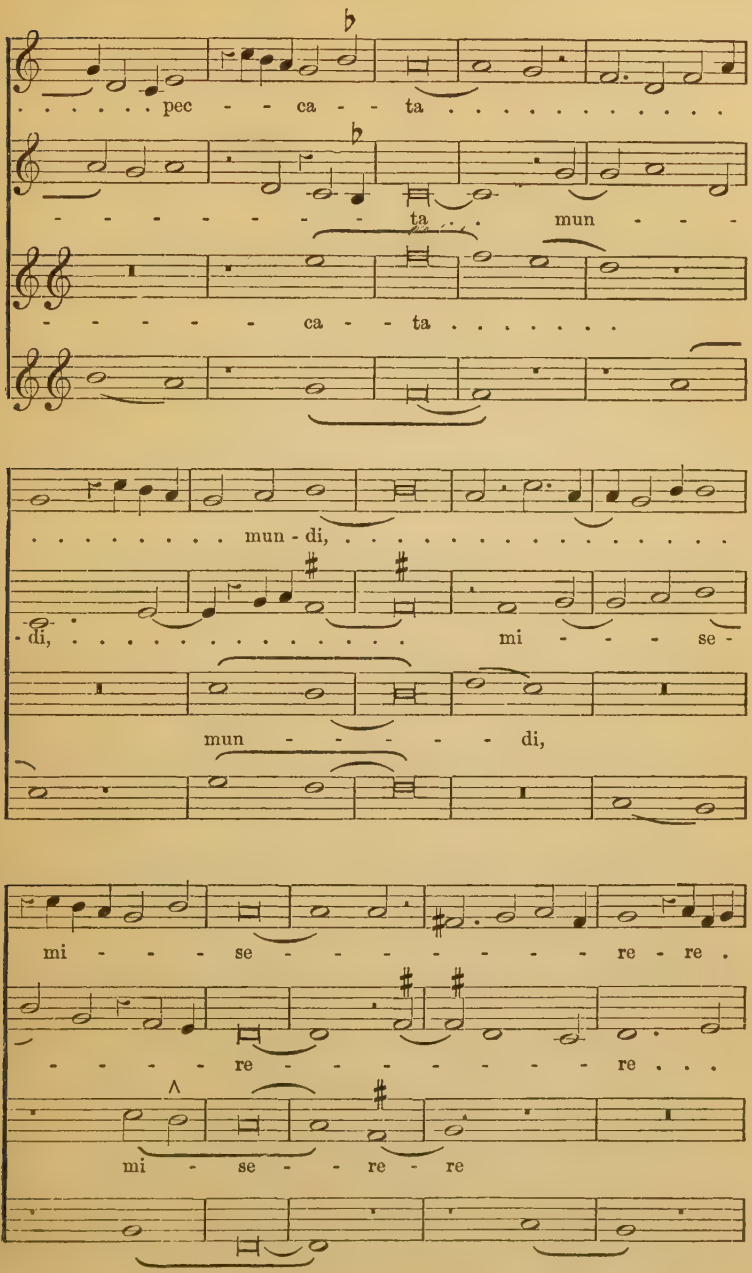
The remaining forms of *cantilena* to be found in the collections, the *Ballade* and the *Chanson Balladée*, are new to us. In their general character they are found to resemble the *Rondeau*, but each has of course its own special musical feature. The special indication of the *Ballade* would seem to consist in the fact that the second line of words is sung to the same music as the first, with the exception of the last notes, which form an *ouvert* or half close for the first time, and a *clos* or true close for the second. In the *Chanson Balladée* this feature again appears, but is now applied to the second and third lines of the text. In both the words are given to the upper part only, and in neither is there any musical repetition of importance except that which has just been described. The *Ballade* partakes largely of the ornamental character which is also to be observed in the *Rondeau*, and originally in the *Conductus*, long passages of florid counterpoint upon a single syllable of text occurring at the beginning of the composition and before each close. In the *Chanson Balladée* the music is much more simple; it is in fact essentially syllabic, and more nearly than any other form employed by Machault approaches the quality of a song.

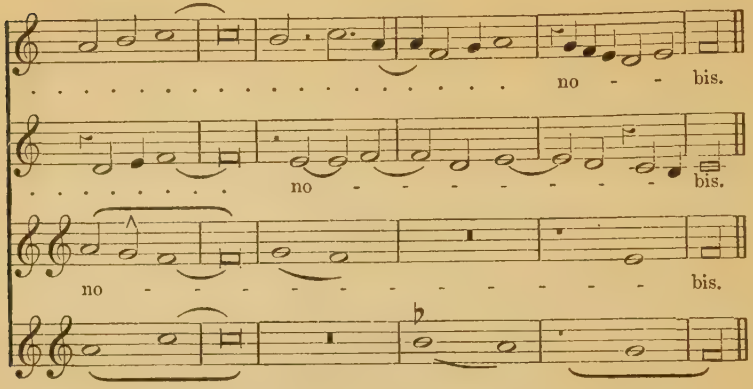
AGNUS DEI.

Paris : Bib. Nat., MSS., fonds français.
No. 22546, fol. 132b.

Guillaume de Machault.



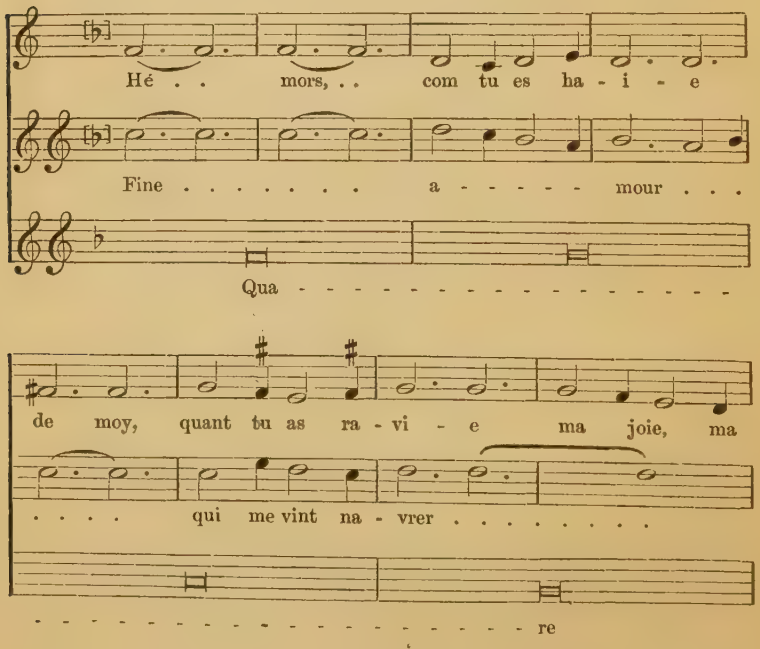

pec - - ca - - ta
ta mun - - -
- - - - - - - ca - - ta
mun - di,
di, mi - - - se -
mun - - - - - di,
mi - - - se - - - - - - - re - re .
- - - - re - - - - - - - - re . . .
mi - se - - re - re

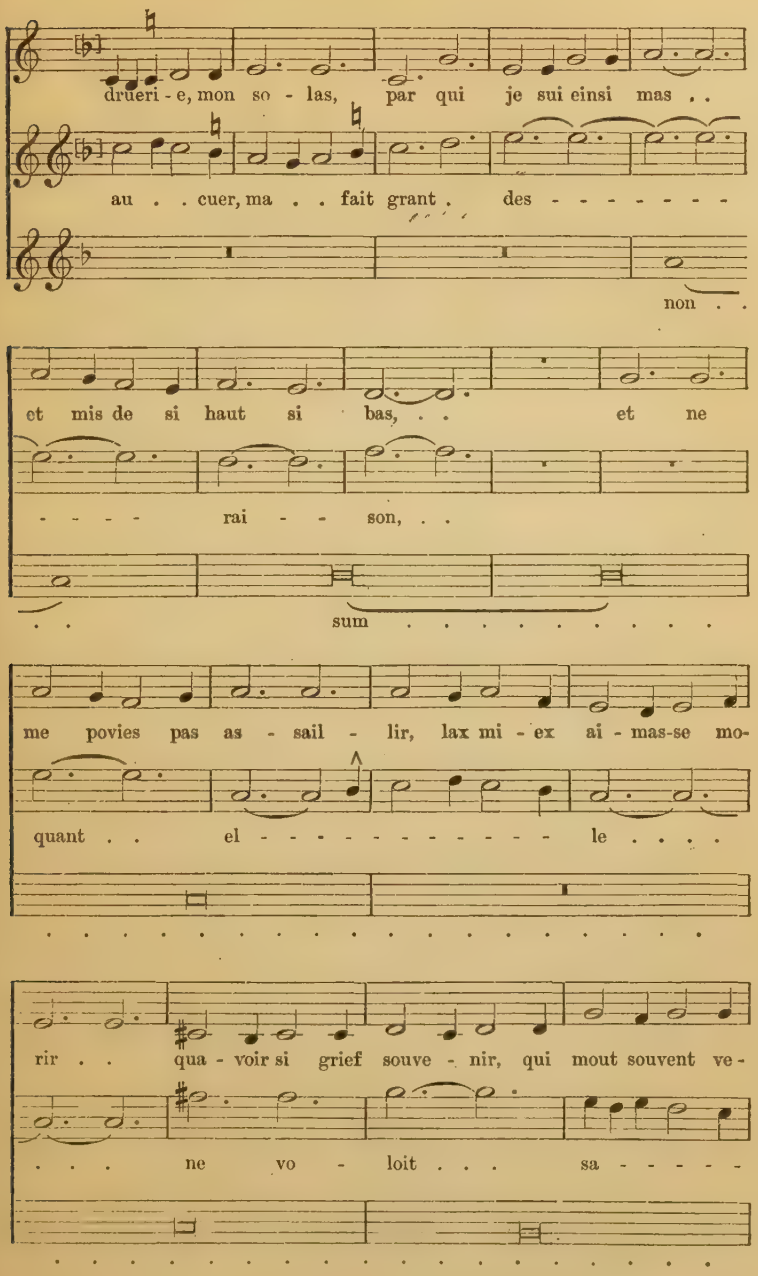


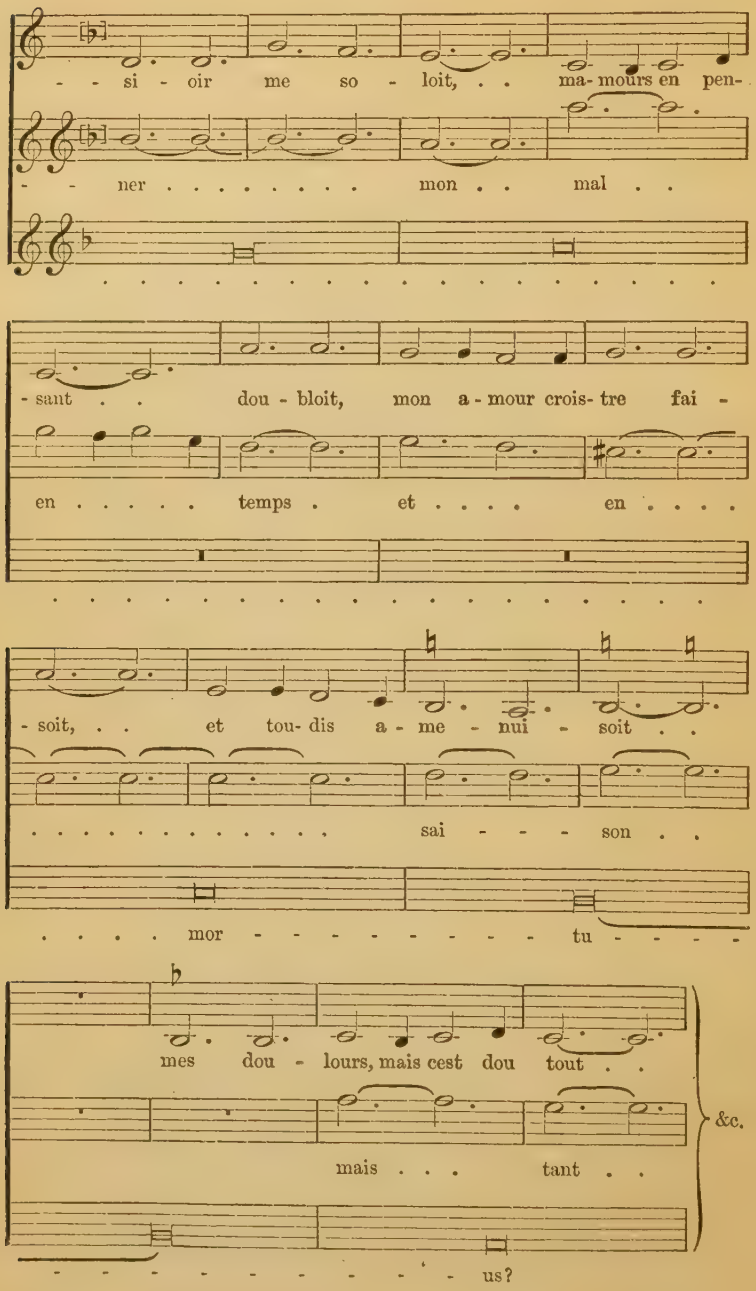
Motett.

[*Mode and Time Imperfect, Prolation Perfect.*]

Paris: Bib. Nat., MSS., fonds français.
No. 22546, fol. 104b. Guillaume de Machault.




druëri - e, mon so - las, par qui je sui einsi mas . .
au . . cuer, ma . . fait grant . des - - - - - - -
non . .
et mis de si haut si bas, . . et ne
- - - - rai - - son, . .
. . sum . . . . . .
me povies pas as - sail - lir, lax mi - ex ai - mas-se mo-
quant . . el - - - - - - - - - - - le . . . .
rir . . qua - voir si grief souve - nir, qui mout souvent ve -
. . . ne vo - loit . . . sa - - - - -

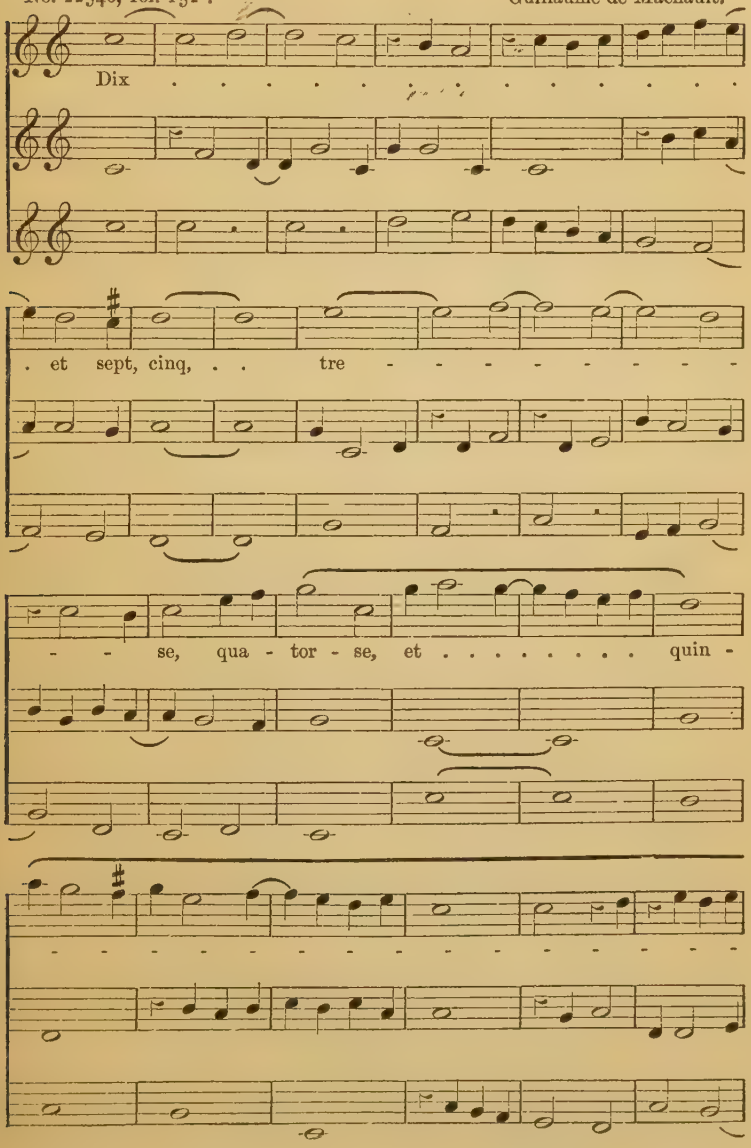

si - oir me so - loit, ma- mours en pen-
ner mon mal
sant dou - bloit, mon a - mour crois- tre fai -
en temps et en
soit, et tou- dis a - me - nui - soit
sai - son
mor - tu
mes dou - lours, mais cest dou tout
mais tant
us?
&c.

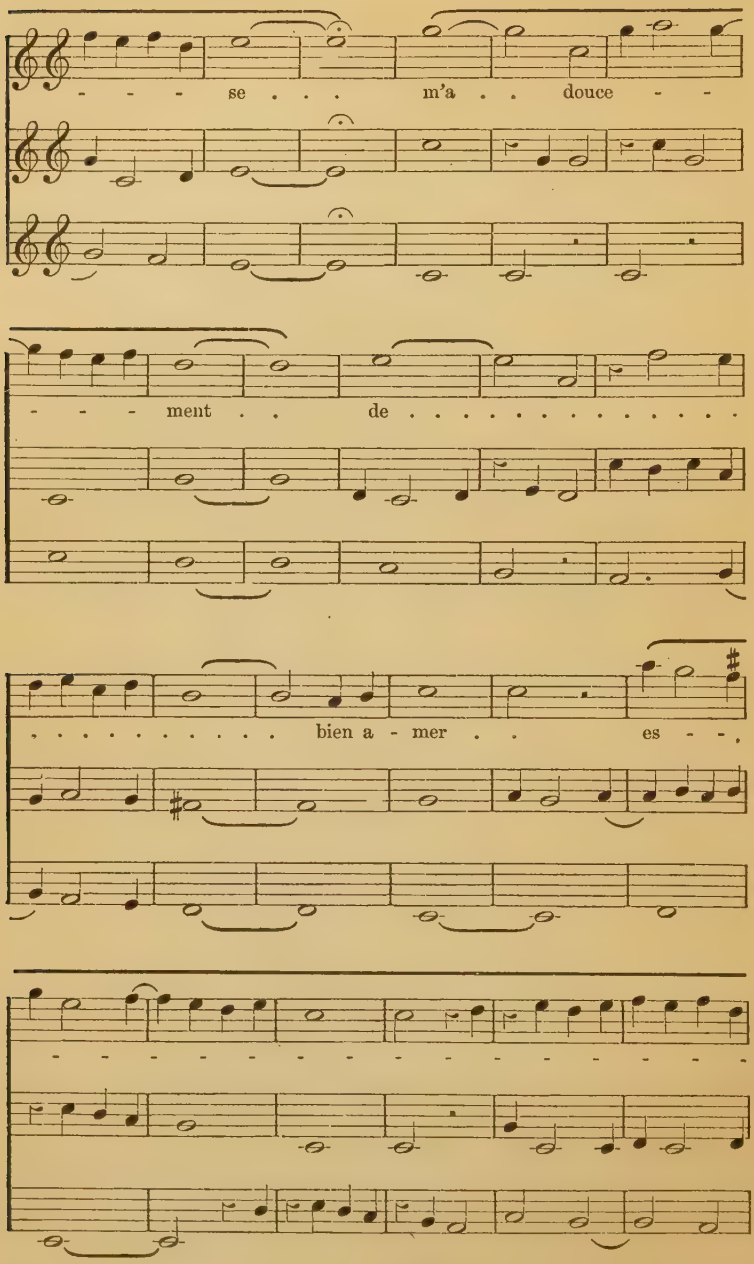
Rondeau.

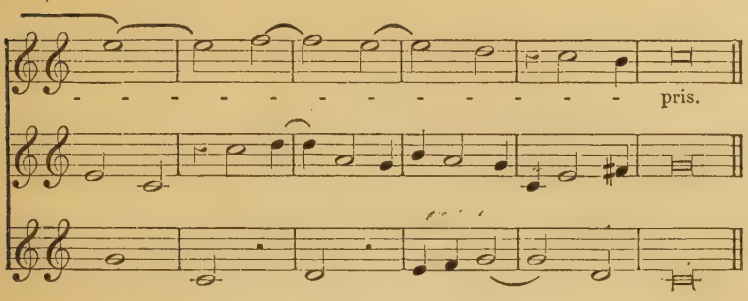
DIX ET SEPT.

Paris: Bib. Nat., MSS., fonds français.
No. 22546, fol. 152b.

Guillaume de Machault.




se . . . m'a . . douce - -
ment . . de . . . . . .
. . . . . bien a - mer . . es - -

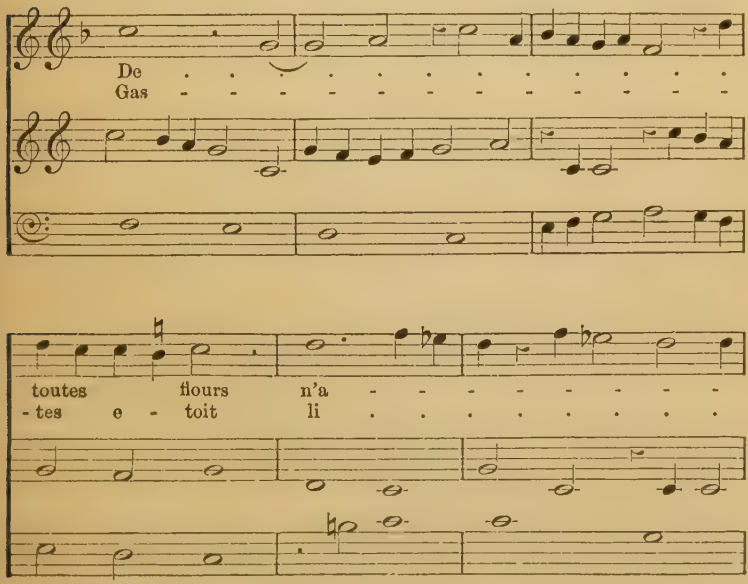


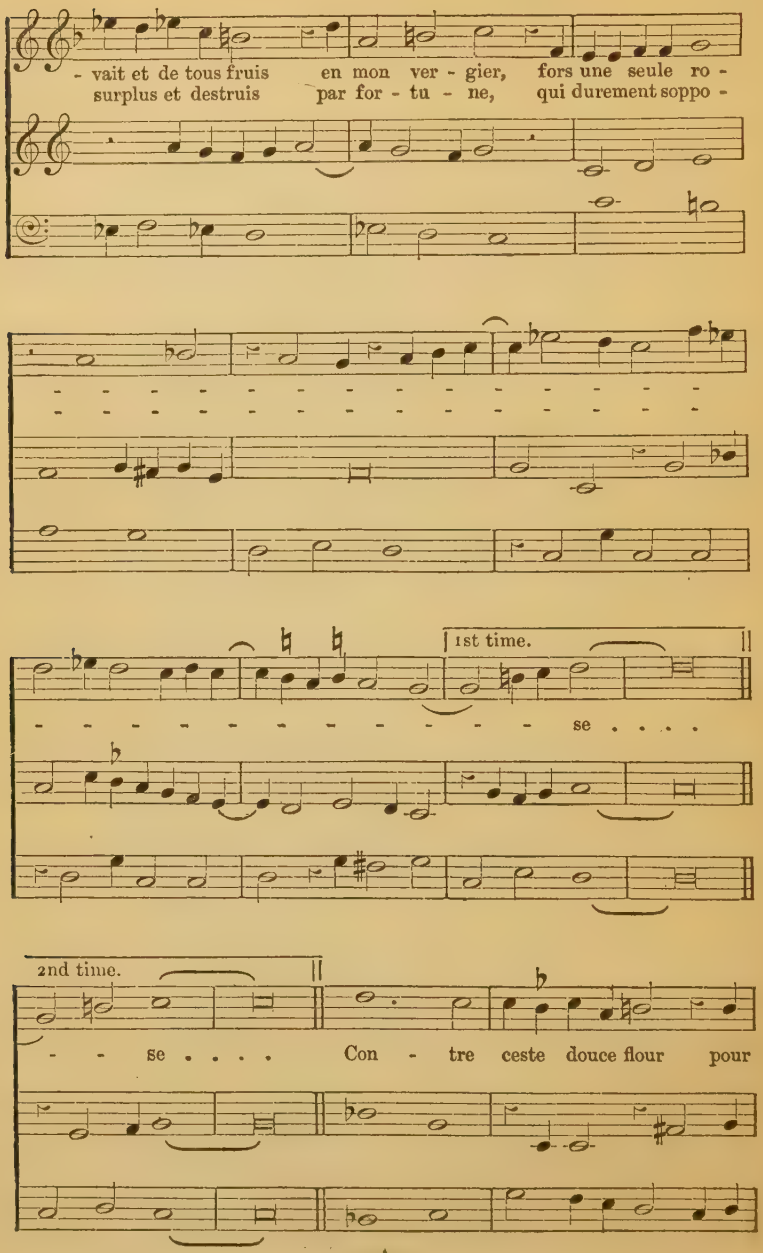
Pris ha en moy une amoureuse prise,
Dix et sept, cinq, treise, quatorse, et quinse,
Pour sa bonte que chascuns loe et prise;
Et sa biaute que sur toutes ont pris,
Dix et sept, cinq, treise, quatorse et quinse,
M'a doucement de bonne amour epris. &c.

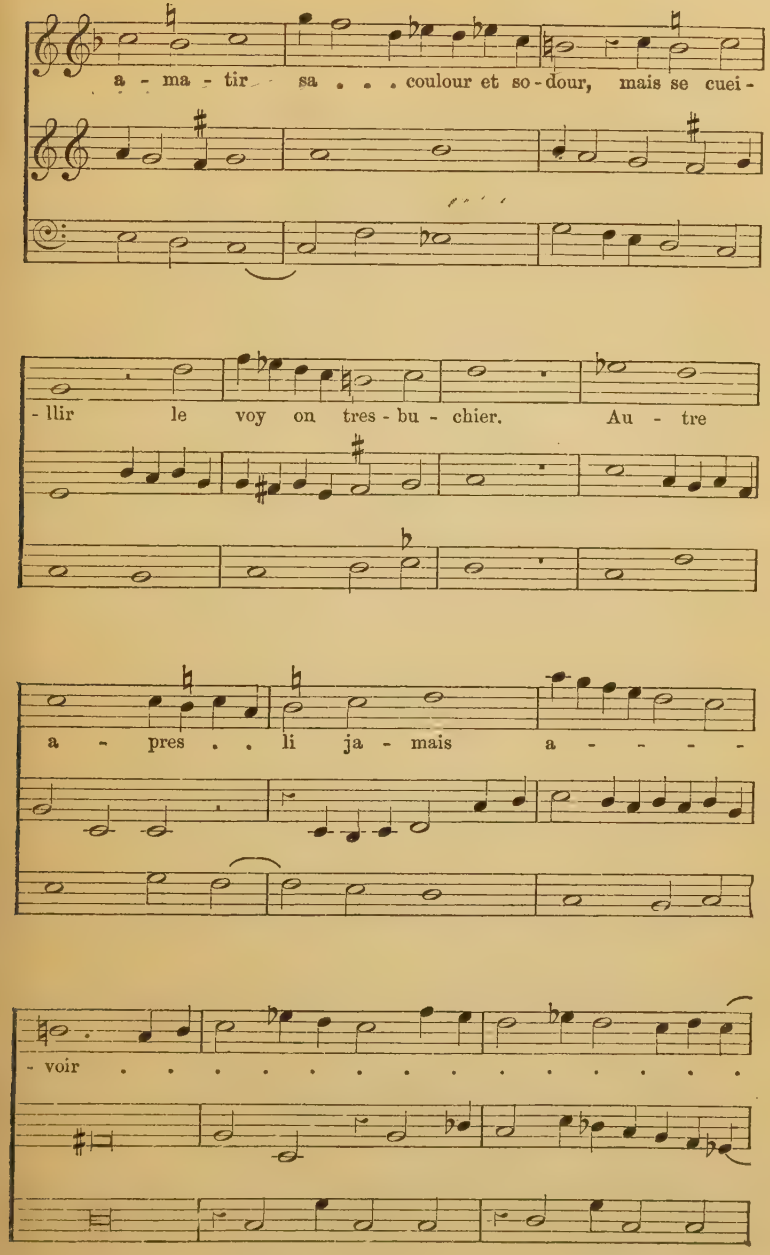
Ballade.

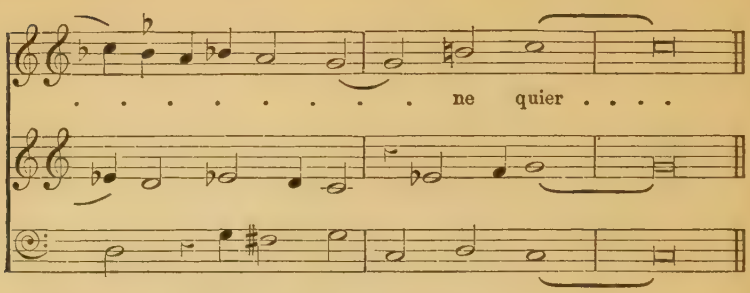
DE TOUTES FLOURS.

Paris: Bib. Nat., MSS., fonds français.
No. 22546, fol. 144a. Guillaume de Machault.




- vait et de tous fruis en mon ver - gier, fors une seule ro -
surplus et destruis par for - tu - ne, qui durement soppo -
1st time.
se . . . .
2nd time.
- - se . . . . Con - tre ceste douce flour pour


a - ma - tir sa . . . coulour et so - dour, mais se cuei -
- llir le voy on tres - bu - chier. Au - tre
a - pres . . li ja - mais a - - - -
- voir . . . . . .

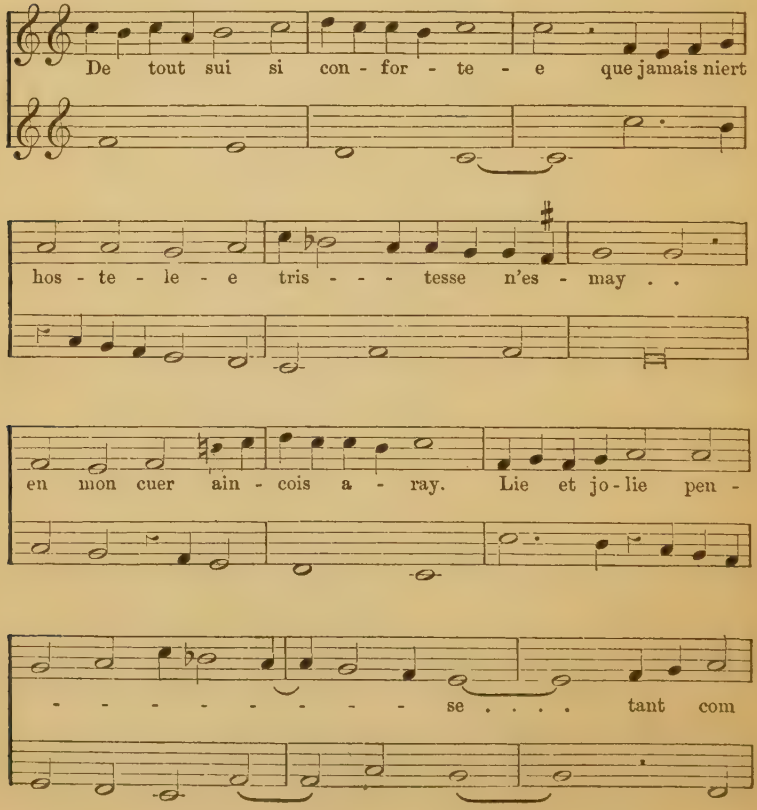


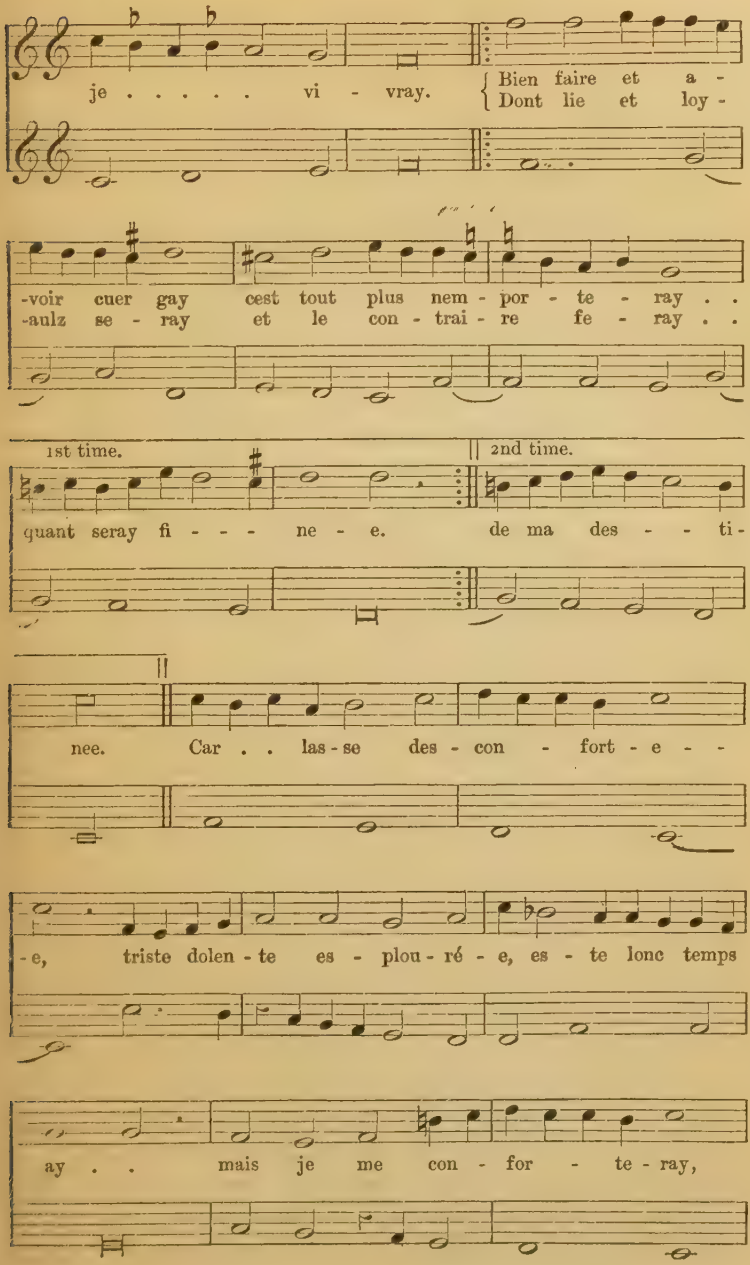
Chanson balladée.

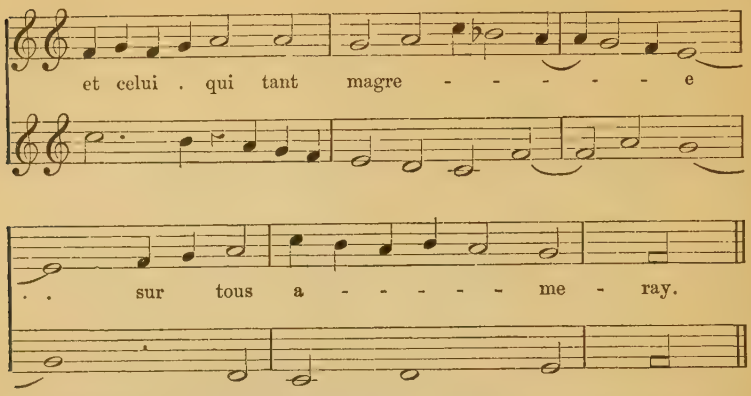
DE TOUT SUI SI CONFORTÉE.

Paris: Bib. Nat., MSS., fonds français.
No. 22546, fol. 162ª.

Guillaume de Machault.




je . . . . . vi - vray.
Bien faire et a -
Dont lie et loy -
-voir cuer gay cest tout plus nem - por - te - ray . .
-aulz se - ray et le con - trai - re fe - ray . .
1st time.
2nd time.
quant seray fi - - - ne - e.
de ma des - - ti -
nee.
Car . . las - se des - con - fort - e - -
- e, triste dolen - te es - plou - ré - e, es - te lonc temps
ay . . mais je me con - for - te - ray,



From these examples we may gain some idea of the conceptions which were aroused in the minds of the French composers of the middle of the fourteenth century as a consequence of the recent enlargement of the materials of music, chiefly through the adoption of the Imperfect time and of the prolation of the semibreve. For it is evident that this enlargement, though it was at first no more than the immediate result of the obvious reaction against the older ideal of composition, must necessarily bring also with it possibilities of its own, and the germs of a new ideal. The immediate technical possibilities, the merely mechanical combinations of various kinds of time, prolation, and syncopation, are seen, produced to exhaustion, in the works of the contemporary theorists; the artistic possibilities are aimed at in the works of Machault and his school, where we may perceive the first approaches towards a realization of the new ideal,—the embodiment, that is to say, of the new forms in sustained compositions, and the search for such effects as most properly arise from the nature of the untried material when thus employed.

And certainly it must be confessed that although the abolition of the old systems of poetic rhythm had evidently revealed to these artists the true form of polyphonic melody, as consisting in an imaginative mixture of notes of all values, constantly varying, yet the artistic results at first obtained in France from

the combination of parts constructed out of the new material were but little better than those which had arisen from the older juxtaposition of purely metrical forms, upon which the great system of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century music was founded. In some respects indeed the methods of the older period were artistically superior, for while in the Motett, for instance, the earlier composers had produced a kind of composition in which was contained the advanced conception of a musical whole, depending for its form upon the music itself and arising directly out of it, the musicians of Machault's time failed to advance or to develop this idea; the development of the Motett indeed was, as we have seen, at this time arrested, while the secular forms of *cantilena*, in which the idea of the musical whole is mainly dependent upon the construction of the text, were much practised and advanced. One feature, however, which had already become an important constituent of purely musical form—the two-part cadence, that is to say, in which one voice descends by a whole tone to the final while the other rises by a semitone to the same note or its octave —may be said to have been definitely settled during this largely secular period of composition; the absolute value, however, of this formula, as the true musical expression of finality, was somewhat obscured as a consequence of the general treatment, which was still so apparently aimless and incoherent that the close seems to spring from nowhere and to end nothing. It is needless, therefore, to add that the recognition of an harmonic propriety in the construction of a passage, the instinctive justification of a particular sequence of combined sounds, upon which purely musical meaning depends, is not yet at all aroused in the mind of the hearer.

Besides the Paris MS., from which our examples of the French work of this period are taken, another should be mentioned, the MS. marked No. 1047 in the library at Chantilly; this contains not only a large number of works by Machault himself, but also many others by a group of com-

posers whose names are given, and who may be said probably to form the school of the master, since they both come after him and exhibit his style. Dr. F. Ludwig [1], who has carefully examined the MS., has given some of these names, which rarely occur in other collections, and may therefore perhaps be appropriately recorded here. They are—F. Andrieu, Jean Vaillant, Jacob de Seuleches or Selesses, Jean Césaris, Solage, Grimace, P. de Molins, Trébor, Jean Cuvelier, &c. Their works are chiefly *Ballades* and *Chansons Balladées*, in three and four parts, composed in Machault's manner; they reveal tendencies similar to those which may be observed in their model, the chief of which may be said to be towards the exhibition of the technical subtleties which arise from an examination of the new material—towards the combination, for instance, rather of the more recondite and difficult kinds of prolation and syncopation, than of the simpler forms in which beauty resides.

The MS. also contains the names of a few Italian composers —Master Egidius, Philippus de Caserta, Guido, and the Master Franciscus; but mention of the works of these men will most suitably occur in a consideration of the Italian school of this period, to which we may now proceed.

Although no examples of measurable music produced in Italy before the middle of the fourteenth century have as yet been discovered, there is ample reason to suppose that a school of composition had continued to exist in that country, from the time of Guido Aretino onwards. It is, for instance, at least highly probable that the obscure methods which towards the close of the eleventh century gave rise to the first system of contrary movement—the system so fully described in the treatise *Ad organum faciendum*, now in the Ambrosian Library at Milan [2]—were of Italian origin; and although it is clear from the evidence which we possess that the development of this

[1] 'Die mehrstimmige Musik des 14. Jahrhunderts': *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, 1902–3.

[2] See *ante*, vol. i. p. 79.

system in the forms of *Organum purum*, *Conductus*, &c., was pushed forward most actively in France, we may also gather, from the reference by the Anonymus of the British Museum to certain Lombard methods of closing in *Organum*[1], that the contemporary French forms of composition were well known in north Italy, and on the other hand that a peculiarity in the practice of the Italian composers was a matter of sufficient importance to receive mention in France when it occurred.

That the methods of the French composers of the thirteenth century were highly popular with the Italians appears from the fact that some, at least, of the religious confraternities of secular persons which began to be formed in Florence soon after the year 1310—societies whose usual music consisted of the local *Laudi Spirituali*, which were sung in unison—also possessed collections of French Motetts of the earlier period; and in these, moreover, may often be recognized compositions also preserved in the famous Montpellier MS., or mentioned in thirteenth-century treatises. These collections[2] would seem to consist of Italian copies of the French works, and are so beautifully written, and so richly decorated with miniatures, that we may suppose the originals to have been still greatly in favour in the first quarter of the fourteenth century.

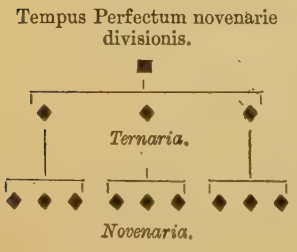
Direct proof, by way of examples, of the existence of a native Italian practice at the beginning of the fourteenth century is indeed, as has been said, wanting. But just as the existence of a Gallic school during this period, which is also apparently barren of musical examples in France, is to be inferred from *Ars Nova* and its attendant group of kindred treatises—since these are chiefly devoted to the examination of problems possessing no interest apart from the necessities of practice—so the *Pomerium* and the *Brevis Compilatio* of Marchettus, written in Padua not long before 1310, imply, by their exhaustive and animated discussion of practical matters, the existence of a contemporary local body of composers, whose works must

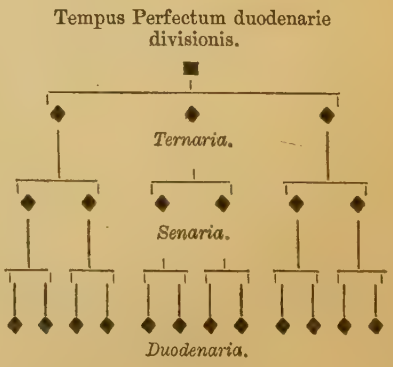
[1] *Cousse. Script.* i. 358. [2] Florence, *Bib. Naz.* ii. 1, 122, 212 (Ludwig).

have supplied the material for argument and illustration. Indeed, the interesting examples of contrasted methods of prolation, in the works of Marchettus, which are given as 'the French way' and 'the Italian way' respectively, would alone be sufficient to show that the treatises of the Italian writer are in fact, not less than *Ars Nova*, representative of a living school.

These treatises, upon examination, are found to be much occupied—as indeed we should naturally expect—with the problems arising out of the division of the breve. It is also evident that the methods arrived at are practically almost the same as those of the French writers, yet since they are exhibited in a somewhat different manner, it may perhaps be well to give some idea of them before passing from the subject.

The superficial differences in the manner of presenting the new methods which distinguish the French system from that of the Italians seem to arise, mainly, from the greater loyalty of the Italians to the old thirteenth-century rule of regarding all divisions and subdivisions of the breve as semibreves. Thus in dividing they were obliged to adopt a somewhat puzzling nomenclature, denoting the semibreves as of the first division, of the second, and of the third; and these divisions were also specially named according to the number of parts into which the breve was divided, and appear as the binary and ternary (the first division), the senary and novenary (the second division), and the duodenary (the third division), thus :—

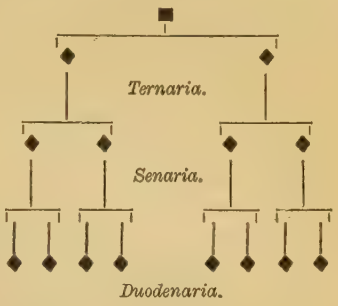




Also these special names of the various stages of division, invented apparently with reference to Time Perfect, were applied, absurdly enough, to the same stages of the division of Time Imperfect, thus:—

Tempus Imperfectum novenarie divisionis.

Tempus Imperfectum duodenarie divisionis.



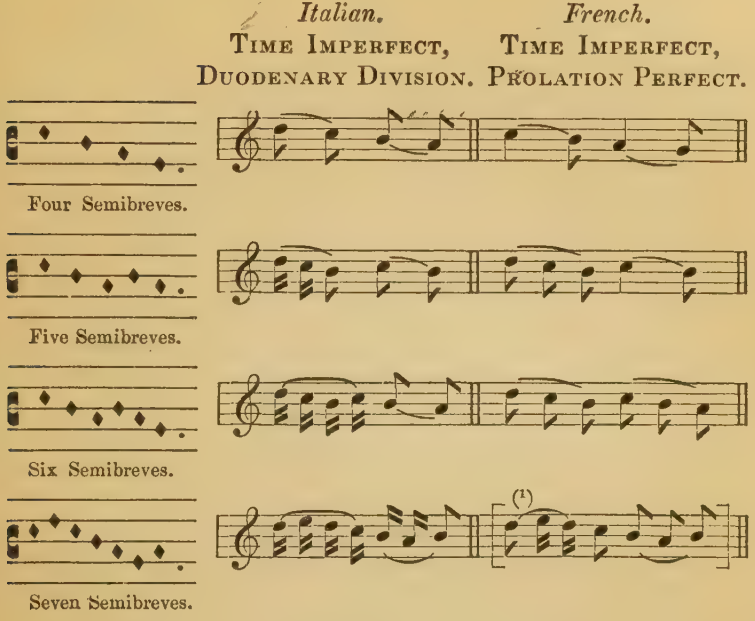
In these examples it will be noticed that the result of the second division—that is, of the division of the semibreve—is still represented by the semibreve figure, and this practice is of course a survival from the earlier period of Pierre de la Croix, when, as has been said, the notes obtained by this division were always considered as a kind of semibreve—*semibrevis minor*, as it was sometimes called. Marchettus himself, however, when speaking of their value does not call them semibreves, but reserves that name for the material sign, the lozenge, and describes the value of a given group of lozenges or semibreves as 'so many of the duodenary division,' or of the senary, and so on. Thus, for instance, we find the rule:—'If eleven semibreves, uniformly figured, should be given for the *tempus*, as in the example, then the first ten belong to the duodenary division, the final being in the senary; and so the first, second, third, fourth, and fifth notes of the senary division will have been divided.'

Thus in modern values, diminished according to our usual scale:—

Here, then, we have the semibreve figure used by Marchettus to express notes even of the duodenary division, the utmost prolation possible at this period. This use, Marchettus explains, is according to the *via naturae*, and by this he probably means distinctly to refer to the original doctrine that all divisions of the breve are in their nature semibreves; but he also admits another point of view, *via artis*, in which is descernible the possibility of an upward stroke rising from the lozenge, to indicate the duodenary division [1]. Yet, strictly speaking, this concession is insufficient, since it will be seen that we thus arrive only at the figure proper to the minim, the true sign of the senary division, while the notes of the duodenary division are really semiminims, and should be figured accordingly.

A few examples of the French and Italian methods in prolating the semibreve are here given in contrasted form, from the treatise of Marchettus, *Brevis Compilatio*; and from these it will be seen that the difference between them consists mainly in a preference for the Perfect prolation of the semibreve among the French writers, and of the Imperfect prolation of the minim among the Italians.

[1] The meaning of the author in the passage here referred to is somewhat obscure, and it should be mentioned that Dr. Ludwig explains it in a different manner.



It has generally hitherto been supposed that the Italian system, just described, was in point of date considerably antecedent to the French system; and this was indeed probable while the authorship of *Ars Nova* was still ascribed to Philippe de Vitry, for that distinguished personage must have belonged to a later generation than Marchettus. But since this authorship is now considered as more than doubtful, and the whole group of treatises, indeed, which have passed under the name

[1] With regard to the example of seven semibreves, it is expressly pointed out by Marchettus that the French equivalent cannot be given, as the French method stops at the minim, and strictly speaking contains no means of showing more than six notes in the Perfect prolation of Imperfect time; in *Ars Nova* the same doctrine is laid down, but with the additional remark that the superfluous note or notes can in fact be divided into semiminims, a value which is mentioned somewhat slightly, and as if grudgingly, in the French work, but which, as will be seen, the Italian treatise writer uses, under the name of minim, freely.

of De Vitry must for the present remain anonymous, we may now freely observe the great similarity existing between the French and Italian treatises—for not only is the language often curiously alike, but the examples of the prolation of the *tempus*, exhibiting the 'French way' in *Brevis Compilatio*, are exactly the same in effect as those given in *Ars Nova*—and we may perhaps conclude that notwithstanding the apparently inconvenient and cumbrous methods employed by Marchettus in presenting the subject, the French and Italian works are actually contemporaneous, and we may possibly even suppose that they are closely related. But however this may be, the matter is of comparatively small consequence, and we may notice, as the really important fact arising from the treatises themselves, that the final outcome of both, equally, is the establishment of the famous system of the 'four prolations.'

Passing now from the theory, we may again say, as regards the practice, that here too the difference between the schools of Italy and France is less real than apparent. As has just been said, their means were practically identical, and the apparent differences in composition arise chiefly from the use of simpler divisions by the Italians than by the French. The Italian school, for instance, is evidently attracted by the effects obtained from the use of the Imperfect measures, not only in prolation but also in mode and time: the French, on the other hand, perhaps from old habit, would seem to have been rather more inclined upon the whole to the use of Perfect measures. But the difference in this respect is not very considerable, and less remarkable indeed than that which is seen in the use of rhythms and syncopations, which in the French music are constant, difficult, and fatiguing to the ear, but in the Italian more essentially agreeable, and more sparingly used.

The Italian works of this period are of special interest, for it is clear, from a consideration of the musical remains of the

middle of the fourteenth century, that the authoritative centre of production was at that time no longer to be found, as hitherto, in Paris and north-eastern France. Rather it must now be sought for in the regions of central Italy, in Tuscany, and especially in Florence. For whereas it is only with difficulty that we can collect in France less than a dozen names of representative writers to form a school, of whom one only, Guillaume de Machault, would seem to have been at all prolific, we become aware, in examining the records of the Italian music in the districts just mentioned, of the existence of about thirty named composers, besides many anonymous, and of nearly five hundred specimens of their work. Padua, we supposed, might have possessed a school of composition during the first quarter of the century; but that school had by this time probably become merged in the Florentine, which was now evidently responding freely to the stimulus of the great local artistic movement dating from the later years of the preceding century, the effects of which, in poetry and plastic, are seen at their best in the works of Dante and of Giotto.

The chief master and head of this musical school was Francesco Landini, organist of San Lorenzo. This remarkable musician was born about 1325, and becoming blind at the age of nine years, he adopted at first the study of organ-playing—merely, it is said, as an amusement in hours of solitude—but soon discovered in himself the most striking gifts, not only of execution but also of composition. In his case, in fact, we may probably see the first recorded example of that universal kind of musical talent of which not a few practitioners of the art have since shown themselves to be possessed, that innate perception of musical things which instinctively affords the key to the technique of all instruments, and in contrapuntal composition often supplies the place of labour. For the proofs of his instrumental superiority we have to rely upon the eulogies of his contemporaries, but his facility in composition is established by the existing records of the school; for of the five hundred

compositions, or thereabouts, which have been preserved, not less than one hundred and seventy—or a third of the whole—are by Francesco [1].

It would seem that Francesco, though organist of one of the principal churches in Florence, was not a composer especially of sacred music; preferring, like almost all the members of the school, and indeed like Machault and the French also, to write in the prevailing native forms of *cantilena*. These native Italian forms were apparently, like those also of the contemporary French use, exceedingly few in number; yet, since their methods were by no means rigid, they afforded scope for the timid ventures of the school, and proved sufficient. They were the

[1] These records, so far as they have as yet been discovered, are chiefly contained in eight MSS., of which two are still in Florence (*Med. Laur. Cod. Ned.-Palatino* 87, and *Bibl. Naz. Centrale, Panciatichiani*, 26); one in Modena (*Bibl. Estense*, L. 568); two in Padua (*Bibl. Univ.* 684 and 1475); one in Paris (*Bibl. Nat. fonds Ital.* 568); one in London (*Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 29987); and one in Prague (*Bibl. Univ.* xi, E. 9). In seven of these MSS. the same names, and sometimes the same compositions, frequently occur; but of the names preserved in the London MS. only a certain number are to be met with elsewhere, and for this reason that MS. has been supposed, not unreasonably, to be older than the rest. It bears several inscriptions, one of which gives the date of its purchase by the Museum,—'This MS. bought of B. Quaritch, 8 Apr. 1876.' The Italian lettering upon the binding is '*Secolo xvi.*' This is of course erroneous. Another inscription is by a former owner,—'*Di Ser*re *Carlo di Tommaso Strozzi*, 1670.' The index, made apparently by this owner, is as follows;—*Musiche antiche in Cartapecora, cioè di Magri *Jacobi di Bononia, *Joanis de Florª, *Francisci de Florª* [*Landini*], *Fris *Bartolini di Padua, Magri *Joanis de Cascina. Ser *Lorenzo prete di Firenze, Bonaiuti Corsini pictoris, Ser *Donato da Cascina, Frate Vincenzo, Ser Niccolò di Proposto, Caccia di Ser *Gherardello, Di Fra Guglelmo di Stº Spirito, *Francesco degl' Organi* [*Landini again*], *Don Pagolo, Pozzo da Collegrana, di Jacopo pianellaio di Firenze.*' One or two names to be found in the volume have escaped the maker of this list—**Egidio* for instance, and *Andrea dei Servi*. The names marked with a star occur in other MSS. also, the rest are peculiar to this collection. The names which occur most frequently in other collections, but which are not found in the London MS., are—*Andrea, Pietro, Paulo, Zacharias, Enrico, Jacobello Bianchi, Giovanni Bazzo, Correzzario di Bologna, Grazioso Padovano, Gregorio Padovano, Ser Feo, Arrigo.*

The present writer is indebted for a great deal of information respecting the fourteenth-century music in France and Italy to an article by F. Ludwig, already referred to *ante* in note to p. 35 of this vol., published in the Journal of the *Internationale Musikgesellschaft*, 1902–3, and to another, chiefly upon the Italian school, by J. Wolf, in the same Journal, 1901–2. To these articles the reader may be referred for a fuller discussion of matters which the limits of our space oblige us to pass over lightly here.

Ballata—corresponding almost exactly to the French *Chanson Balladée*, and probably derived from it—the *Madrigale* or *Mandriale*, and the *Caccia*. The two latter forms were apparently of purely Italian origin. The Madrigal consists of two main portions, one composed for three or four stanzas of text—the music being the same for each stanza—and another, called the Ritornello, consisting of one stanza only, with fresh music, following in a different rhythm immediately upon the completion of the first portion. The *Caccia*, or Hunt, was a form of composition exhibiting a gay and bustling kind of music, originally confined to the representation of the incidents of the chase, but afterwards extended so far as to include the characteristic cries of the street and market.

Among the distinctive features of the treatment of these native musical forms by the Italian composers, the most important, undoubtedly, was their use of the great artistic device known as Canon. For this now no longer appears in embryonic shape, as it is seen in the short fragments of imitation and of vocal interchange which occur in the thirteenth-century music, but as the essential part of the scheme of operation, planned from the beginning and sustained throughout the composition. The French also would seem to have been acquainted with some sort of Canon, but they made no satisfactory use of it, while for the Italians the complete form had become at this time a recognized method of composition, and would appear to have been adopted as upon the whole the most pleasing manner of treating both the Madrigal and the Caccia.

The Canon of the Italians is in two parts only; and from this we might perhaps suppose that the great English specimen in four parts, with a *pes—Sumer is icumen in*—was unknown to them, and that their form of the device was an independent discovery. On the other hand we have to remember that in the fourteenth century, and especially in Italy, writing of any sort in four parts was unusual, and that compositions even in three parts were not nearly so numerous as those in two. Two-part

writing was in fact at this time extremely characteristic of the Italian practice, and might very well govern its treatment of Canon, perfect knowledge of other methods notwithstanding. Also we may observe that in Italian Canons the entry of the second voice is often indicated by means of a cross, as in the English work, and sometimes by a direction, such as—'*Tenor. De quo fit contratenor, fugando per unum tempus*' or '*per duo tempora*' or whatever the time interval might be; and this also finds its counterpart in the directions given in the Reading MS. —*Hanc rotam*, &c. It would seem then that as a result of the recent investigations respecting the music of Italy and France during this period, we may perhaps infer the existence of a more or less general diffusion of the knowledge of Canon in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and may suspect that if more of the English polyphonic music of this time, for instance, had been preserved—for indeed we possess fewer than twenty specimens in all—it might have revealed the existence of other examples of Canon besides *Sumer is icumen in*, though this, from the number of its parts, the general richness of its resources, and, above all, from its harmonic propriety—a quality, it may be said, which is entirely absent from the Italian Canons—must have been always far in advance of everything else of the same kind.

It may be mentioned that the name 'Canon,' as the designation of this musical device, dates from this period; it was first applied merely to the directions, which gave the *rule* of performance, but later, by a not uncommon kind of confusion of ideas, became transferred to the device itself. The alternative name of *Fuga*, or Fugue, which it also received, was of course derived from observation of the peculiar relation of the parts during the operation of the method, in which one voice is always retreating before the other at a distance which neither increases nor diminishes—*fugando per unum tempus*, &c., as the rule in fact enjoins. The original designation, Canon, still survives for the strict imitation maintained throughout at the same interval, while the name of Fugue has been appropriated by the more modern devices.

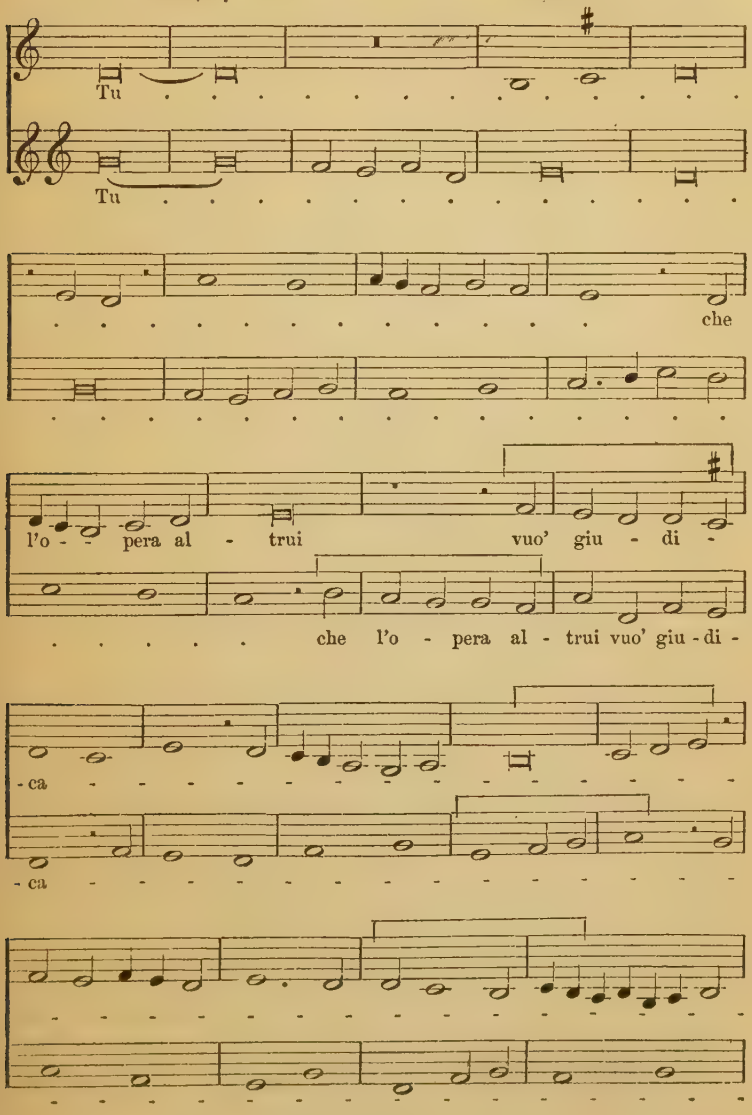
Madrigal.

TU CHE L'OPERA D'ALTRUI.

[Mode, Time, and Prolation, all Imperfect.]

Florence: Bibl. Mediceo-Laurenziana.
Cod. Ned.-Palatino, 87.

Francesco di Landini.



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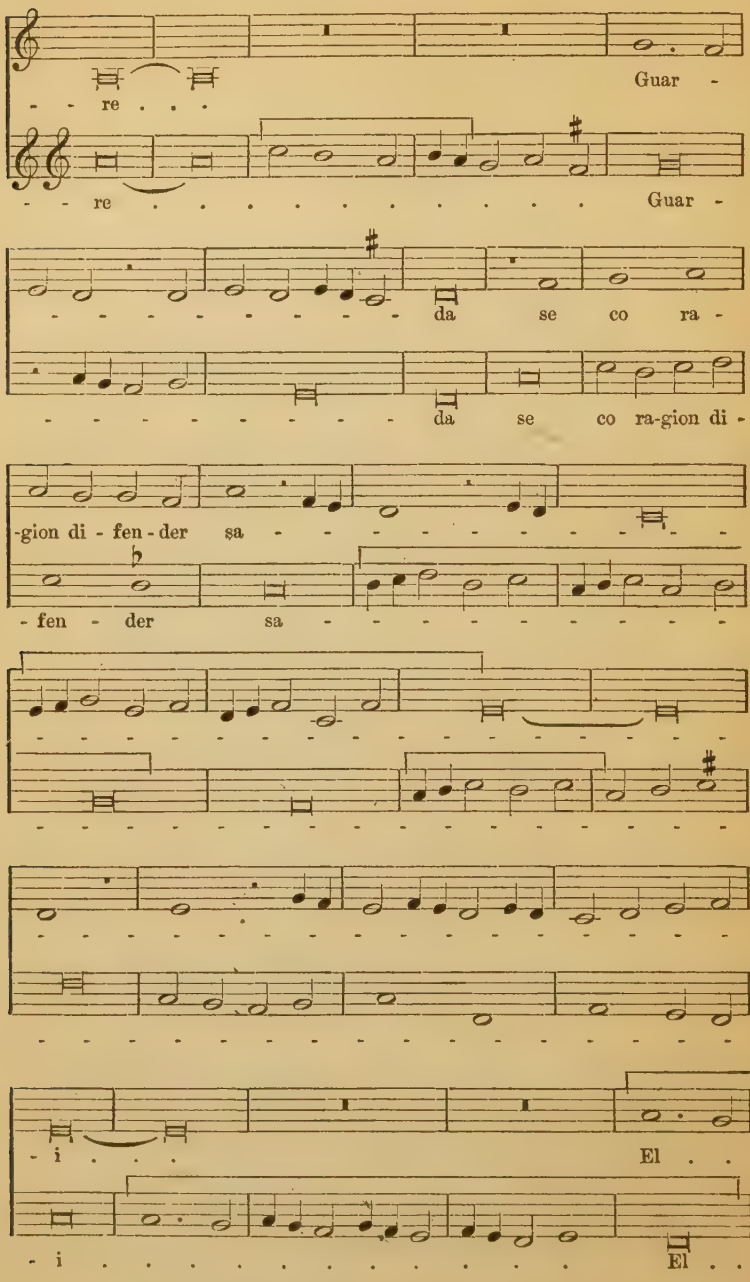
re . . .
Guar -
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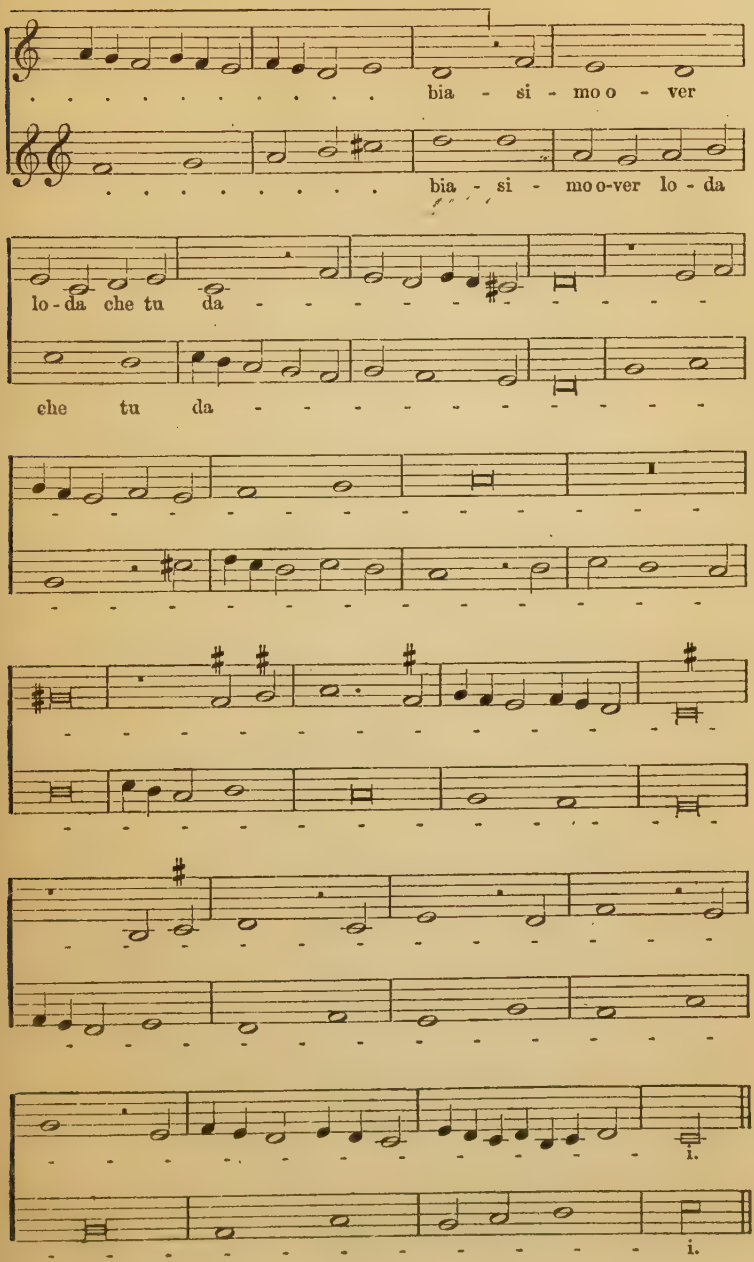
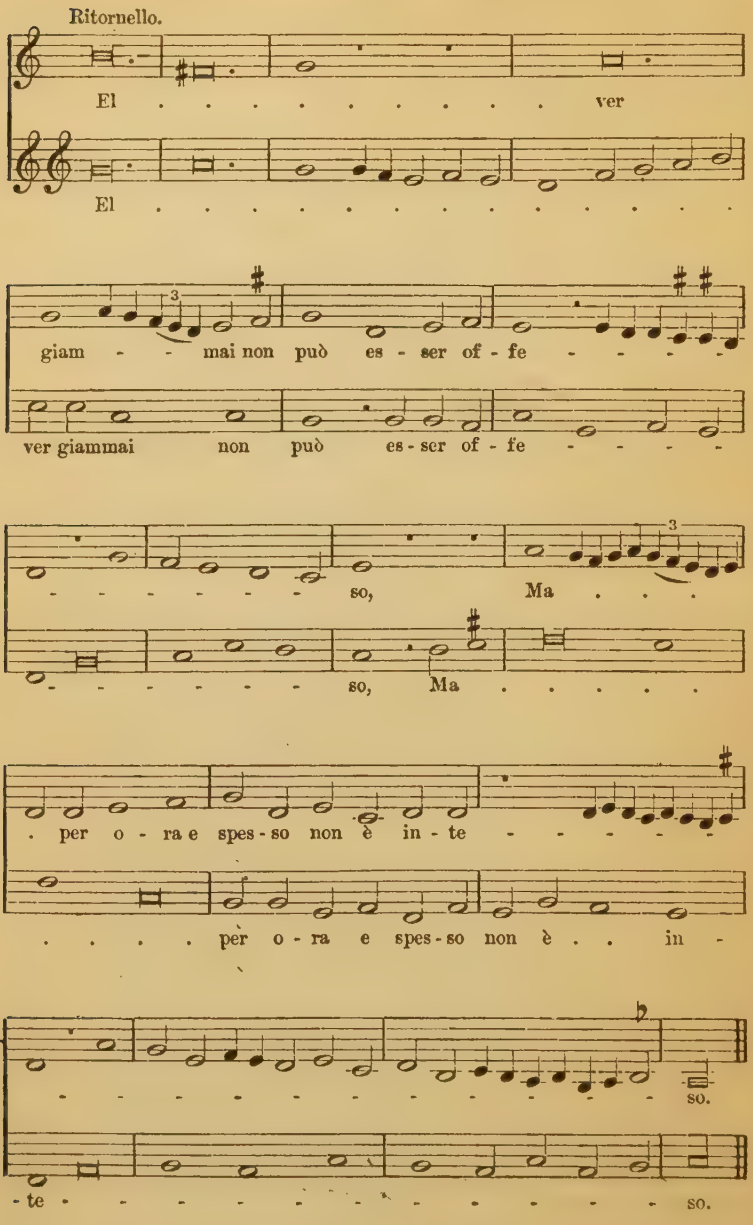
El . .


bia - si - mo o - ver
bia - si - mo o-ver lo - da
lo - da che tu da
che tu da
i.
i.

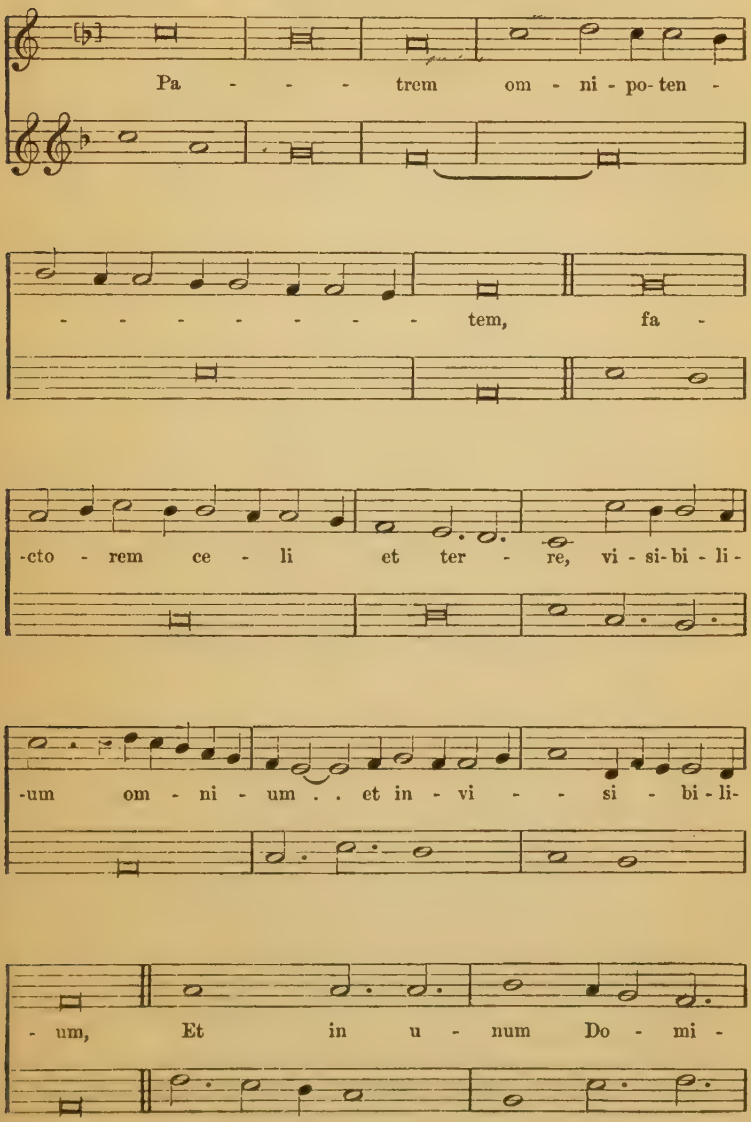
[*Mode and Time Perfect, Prolation Imperfect.*]

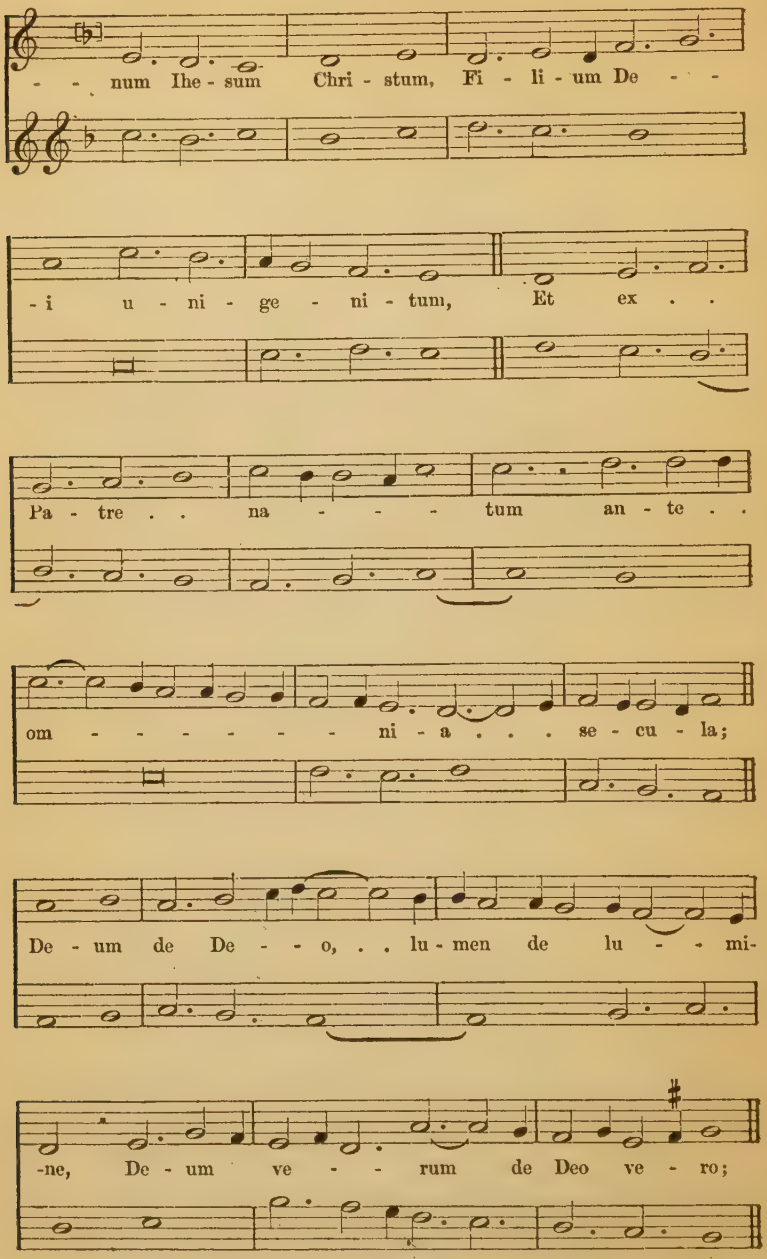

Ritornello.
El . . . . . ver
El . . . . . .
giam - - mai non può es - ser of - fe - - - - -
ver giammai non può es - ser of - fe - - - - -
so, Ma . . .
so, Ma . . . . . .
. per o - ra e spes - so non è in - te - - - - -
. . . . per o - ra e spes - so non è . . in -
- - - - - - - - - - - so.
- te - - - - - - - - - - - so.

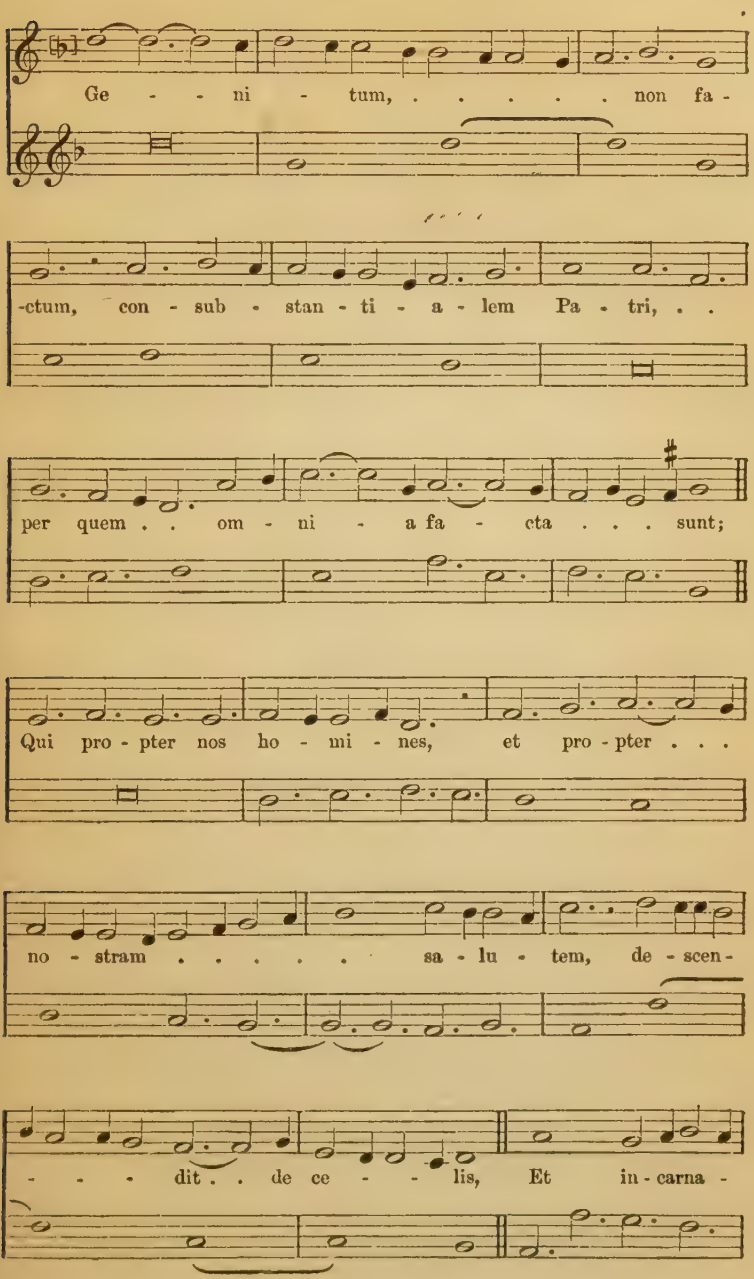
Credo.

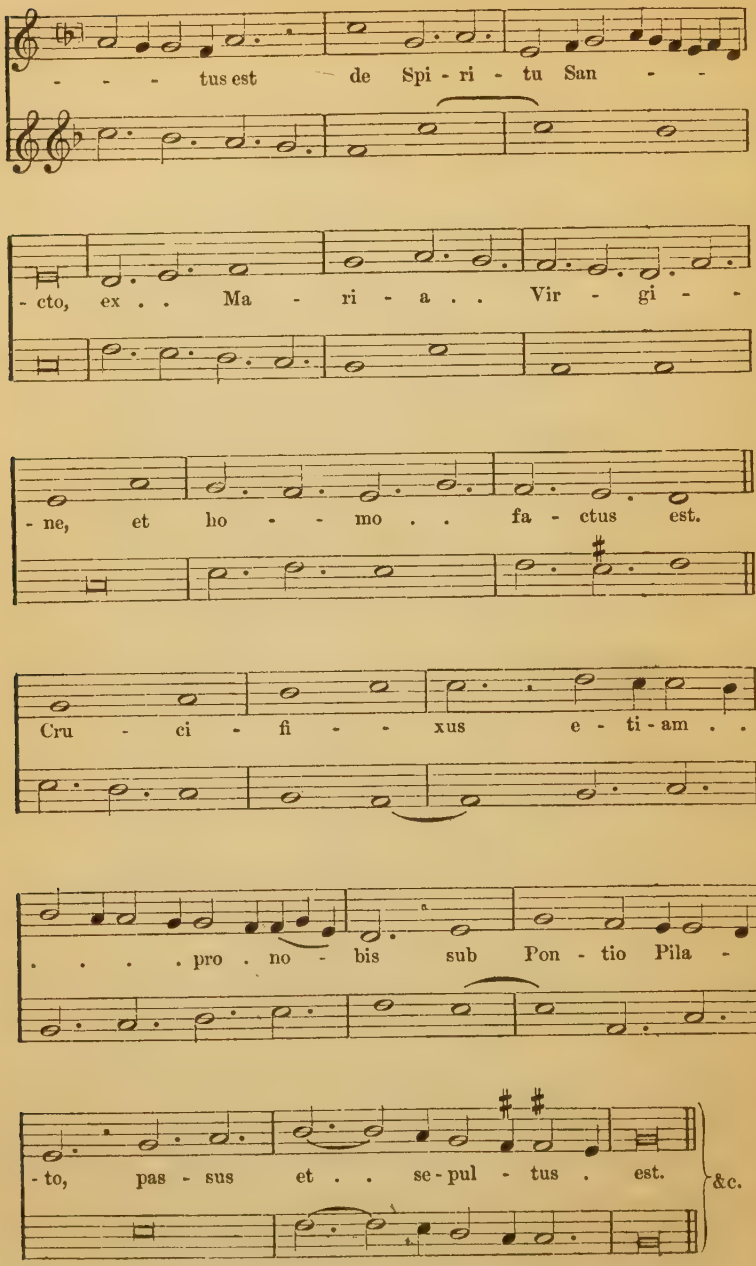
[Mode and Time Imperfect, Prolation Perfect.]

Brit. Mus. MSS. Add. 29987. School of Landini.




- - num Ihe - sum Chri - stum, Fi - li - um De - -
- i u - ni - ge - ni - tum, Et ex . .
Pa - tre . . na - - - - tum an - te . .
om - - - - - - - ni - a . . . se - cu - la;
De - um de De - - o, . . lu - men de lu - - mi-
-ne, De - um ve - - rum de Deo ve - ro;


Ge - - ni - tum, ... non fa -
-ctum, con - sub - stan - ti - a - lem Pa - tri, . .
per quem . . om - ni - a fa - cta . . . sunt;
Qui pro - pter nos ho - mi - nes, et pro - pter . . .
no - stram . . . . . sa - lu - tem, de - scen -
- - - dit . . de ce - - lis, Et in - carna -


- - - tus est de Spi - ri - tu San - -
- cto, ex . . Ma - ri - a . . Vir - gi - -
- ne, et ho - - mo . . fa - ctus est.
Cru - ci - fi - - xus e - ti - am . .
. . . . pro . no - bis sub Pon - tio Pila -
- to, pas - sus et . . se - pul - tus . est.
&c.

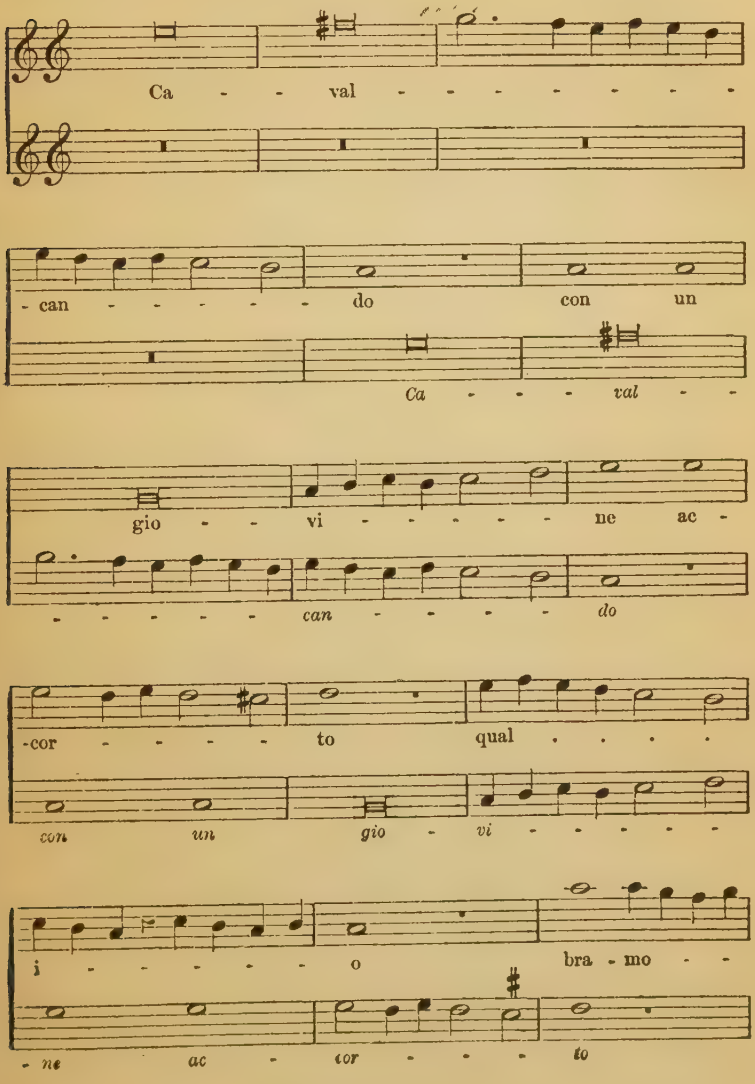
Madrigal.

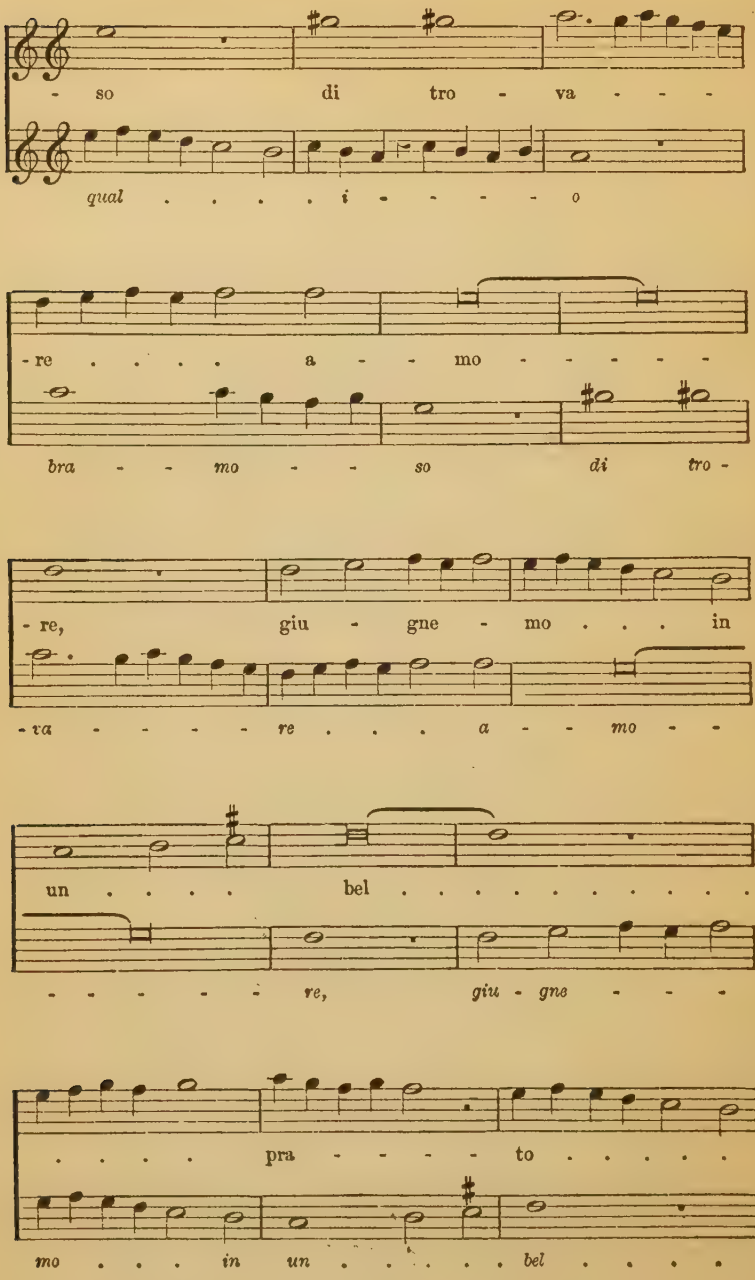
CAVALCANDO.

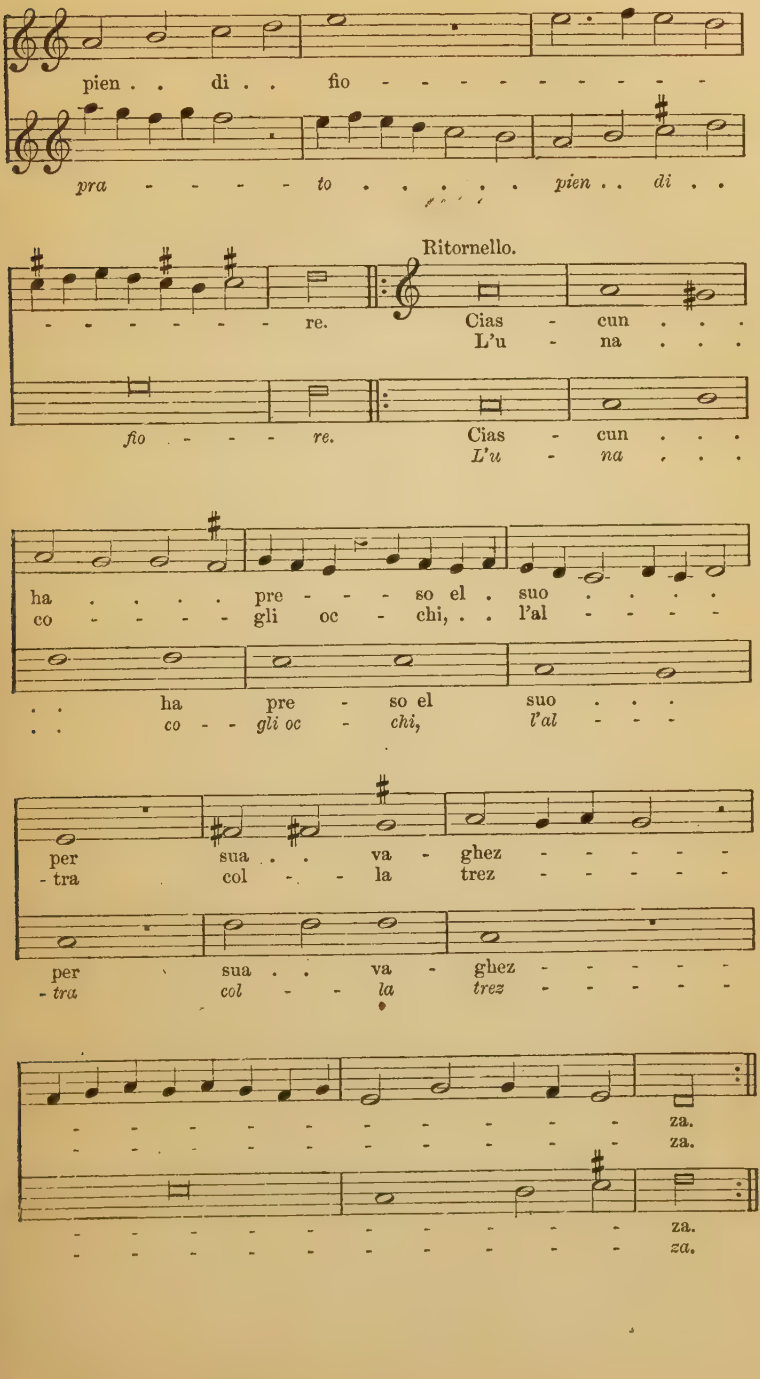
[Canon, two in one, in the Unison.]

Florence: Bibl. Naz. Centrale.
MSS. Panciatichiani, No. 26.

Maestro Piero.




- so di tro - va - - -
qual . . . . i - - - - o
- re . . . . a - - mo - - - - -
bra - - mo - - so di tro -
- re, giu - gne - mo . . . in
- va - - - - - re . . . a - - mo - -
un . . . . bel . . . . . .
- - - - - - re, giu - gne - - -
. . . . pra - - - - to . . . . .
mo . . . in un . . . . . bel . . . .


pien . . di . . fio - - - - - - - - - -
pra - - - - - to . . . . . pien . . di . .
Ritornello.
- - - - - - - re.
Cias - cun . . .
L'u - na . . .
fio - - - - re.
Cias - cun . . .
L'u - na . . .
ha . . . . pre - - - so el . suo . . . .
co - - - - - gli oc - chi, . . l'al - - - -
. . ha pre - so el suo . . .
. . co - - gli oc - chi, l'al - - -
per sua . . . va - ghez - - - - -
- tra col - - la trez - - - - -
per sua . . va - ghez - - - - -
- tra col - - la trez - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - za.
- - - - - - - - - - za.
- - - - - - - - - - za.
- - - - - - - - - - za.

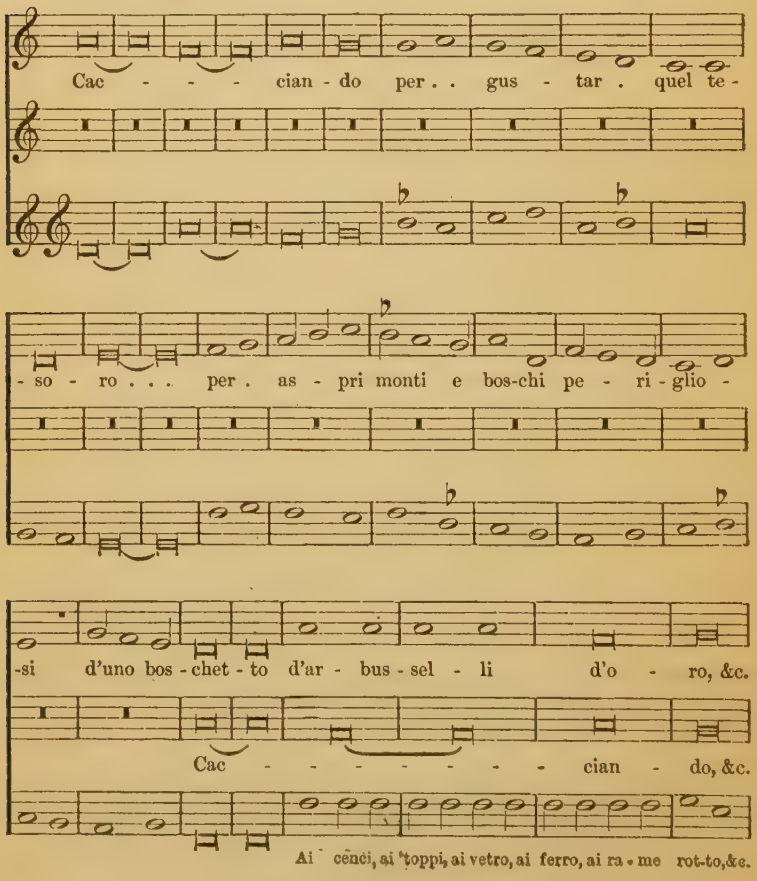
Sometimes the subject of the Canon—especially if it be at all extended before the entry of the second voice—is accompanied by a counterpoint for the third voice, without words, which is intended purely as a filling up, and is not seen or heard of again. This feature may be observed, for instance, in a madrigal by Zacharias, *Cacciando per gustar*, the opening of which is here given :—

MADRIGALE.

CACCIANDO PER GUSTAR.

Florence : Bibl. Med.-Laur.
Cod. Ned.-Palatino, 87.

Zacharias.


Cac - - - cian - do per . . gus - tar . quel te -
- so - ro . . . per . as - pri monti e bos-chi pe - ri - glio -
-si d'uno bos - chet - to d'ar - bus - sel - li d'o - ro, &c.
Cac - - - - - - - cian - do, &c.
Ai cēnci, ai ṭoppi, ai vetro, ai ferro, ai ra - me rot-to, &c.

Musica Ficta.

In passing from our examples of the French and Italian work of the fourteenth century, some reference must be made to a specially remarkable and important feature of these compositions, namely, the exceedingly free use of chromatic alteration which they display. This freedom passes indeed far beyond the recognized necessity of correcting the imperfection or redundance of certain intervals, of which notice was taken by many of the thirteenth-century treatise writers, and most clearly and emphatically perhaps by the author of the MS. of S. Dié [1], whose remarks upon this subject have been repeated at length and verbatim by the compiler of *Ars Nova* [2]. The chromatic alterations, indeed, in our more recent examples would seem to reveal some different purpose altogether, and we can now hardly avoid one of two conclusions—either that the scope of the doctrine of *Musica Ficta* had at this time become suddenly enlarged, or that alterations long sanctioned in practice, but not hitherto indicated by signs, were at last and for the first time openly recognized.

Upon a consideration of the facts, so far as we know them, it will no doubt appear that the latter of these conclusions is the more probable. Already, indeed, in the treatise of Jean de Garlande [3], dating from the first quarter of the thirteenth century, certain remarks of great importance for the subject, as revealing a comparatively ancient free use of chromatics, are to be found. We have already drawn attention to this passage in the first volume of the present work [4], but its full import could not profitably be explained at that stage of our inquiry. We may therefore now examine it more particularly, together with its examples.

An interesting feature of this early notice of chromatic alteration is the difficulty with which the writer communicates his information. It is evident that the subject is new, and

[1] *Cousse. Script.* i. 314; also *ante*, vol. i. p. 111.
[2] *Cousse. Script.* iii. 18. [3] Ibid. i. 97. [4] *Ante*, vol. i. pp. 111, 112.

that its reduction to rule is still beyond the power of the master. Even the name of *Musica Ficta* is apparently unknown to him, and nothing better than *Error*, or, more fully, *Error tertii soni*, occurs as a general description of the method. *Error* is of course sufficiently expressive, but the bearing of 'the third sound' upon the matter is not explained, for it can hardly be due to the fact that in the author's examples the note to be altered always stands (apparently arbitrarily) third in the group.

'Error[1] of the third sound,' says De Garlande, 'occurs when we improve the relations of sounds that go badly together. And we know it by four rules, of which the first is thus:—When we ascend through whole tones, and afterwards coming to the semitone this is changed to a tone and the final tone to a semitone. Which is accomplished by means of the synemmenôn, as appears from the example':—

This is of course throughout somewhat confused, and the reverse of explanatory, while the absence of the chromatic sign renders the example less useful probably than was intended;

[1] Error tertii soni, quando ordinamus sonos male convenientes. Quod per quatuor regulas cognoscimus, quarum prima talis est: quotiens ascendimus per tonos integros, et, postea iungendo semitonium, in tonum convertitur, et ultimus tonus in semitonium. Quod fit mediante synemenon, ut patet in exemplo: [Exemplum.]

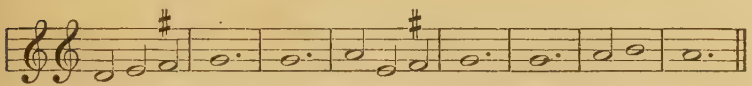
Alia regula de eodem est hic; si descendimus tonum et tertium tonum ascendimus, ibi similiter per synemenon fiet subtractio toni vel soni, ut hic: [Exemplum.]

Alia regula de eodem: quotiens ascendimus et iterum descendimus, ascensus largiatur. Et hoc fit aliquotiens per synemenon, aliquotiens autem non, ut hic: [Exemplum.]

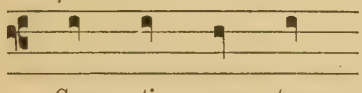
Quarta regula est: continuatio sonorum, si post semitonium fit vel tonus, et conveniens fit super quietem, penultima proportio minuitur, sive fuerit semitonium, vel tonus: [Exemplum.]

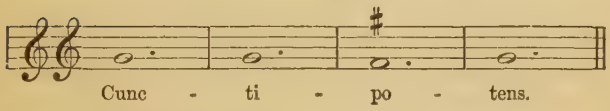
Iste regule tenentur in cantu plano, sed aliquotiens restringuntur in discantu propter habitudinem concordantie ipsius discantus; quia subtilis debet cantum suum conformare respectu superioris cantus, vel inclinare vel acuere, ut melius conformetur concordantie, in quantum potest, supradictas regulas observando.

but its meaning may perhaps be gathered from the following rendering in modern notes:—

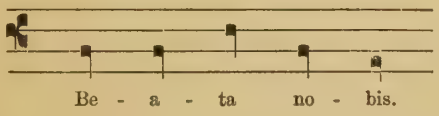


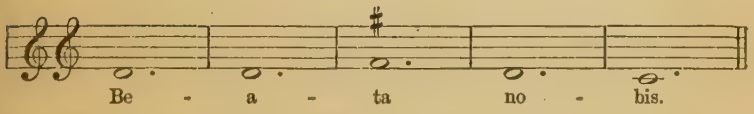
'Another rule for the same is this:—If we descend a tone and again ascend by the same interval, then in like manner, by synemmenôn, the subtraction of the semitone from the tone should be made':—





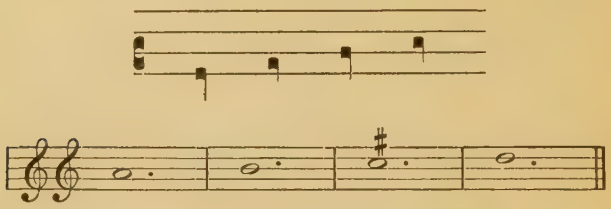
'Another rule for the same:—Whenever we ascend and descend again, the ascending interval should be augmented. And this may be done sometimes by synemmenôn, but sometimes not, as here':—





The fourth rule is too concisely expressed to admit of literal translation, but it may perhaps be explained as follows:—It applies, the author says, to a series of conjunct sounds (such as the example) occurring most naturally upon the close; the

series may conclude either after the semitone (that is on C), or may continue till after the tone (that is to D). In either case the last interval must be diminished. We may note that while this is already effected naturally in the first case, in the second it must be brought about by artificial means.



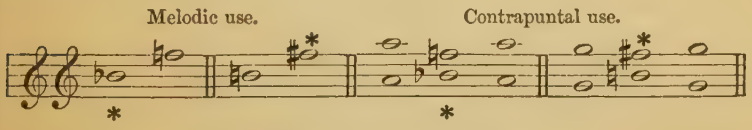
'These rules are observed in plainsong, but are sometimes restricted in their application to discant, on account of the nature of the consonances employed in that kind of composition; for the skilful singer ought to shape his melody with regard to that of the more important part, making his note flat or sharp according as it may be the better framed to concord, as well as the circumstances will allow, and keeping in mind the rules given above.'

It is to be observed that the author speaks of performing the operation which he is describing '*mediante synemenon*'; and by '*synemenon*' he means the chromatic note whose sign is shown in our translations. We have here therefore another instance of the transition of ideas, similar to that which we have just met with in the case of Canon; for the name of the tetrachord whose function in the Greek music was chromatic alteration is now seen as applied to the altered note itself. And this licence dates from very early times.

The difficulty which the synemmenôn tetrachord was invented to remove arose, as is of course well known, from the existence in the scale of the semitones at B–C and E–F. The succession of fifths and fourths proper to the scale was affected by the occurrence of these intervals, the fifth between B and F being imperfect, and its inversion—the fourth between F and B

—redundant. The difficulty was overcome by dividing the interval B–A into two equal parts, of which one was added when necessary to B, with the premonitory sign ♭; so that the semitone now lay between A and B(♭), and the fifth B(♭)–F was perfect. This fiction was temporary in its operation, and held good only during the moment of necessity; with the passing of the occasion the scale resumed its normal form and values.

Useful as this method was, however, something still remained for later times to do. For the inventors of the arrangement just described—the only form of *Musica Ficta* which was admitted as strictly allowable by the most orthodox writers—omitted any recognition of the fact that the desired object might also be attained by a corresponding manipulation of the remaining semitone,—by the addition that is to say of half of the interval F–G to F, with the sign ♯—thus creating a full tone between E and F (♯) and a semitone between F (♯) and G. The general principle may be stated thus :—The interval B–F requiring one semitone to make it perfect, this may be supplied in either the higher or lower region of the scale.



The star indicates the altered note.

In this way apparently the sharp (♯) made its entry into music, though the sign was not at first written in the learned treatises, and only very occasionally in the early discant. It soon became exceedingly in favour, especially in melody, and above all in plainsong. This last fact, for which we have De Garlande's explicit statement as our authority, is most remarkable, since, from the examples which he also gives, it is clear that the ♯ was used not only in fulfilment of its original purpose but also independently, and for the sake of the powerful 'leading' quality which it possesses. The effect of this quality upon the character

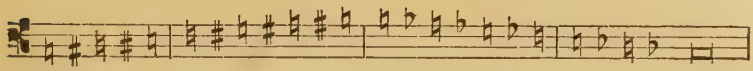
of plainsong may be observed in the application of De Garlande's rules to the melody *Cunctipotens genitor Deus*, of which the first four notes are given transposed as his third example, while the whole will be found at page 86 of the first volume of the present work. The execution of this melody according to the new rules will afford some idea of the confusion to which the ecclesiastical modes must have been reduced at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

But De Garlande's illustrations are not only remarkable for their early indication of the free use of the '*synemenon*' between F and G. It is also evident, both from his language—'*whenever* such and such circumstances occur'—and from the actual appearance of C ♯ in his fourth example, that he desired to impose no formal restriction upon the use of alteration in melody, and that not only the interval F–G, but every whole tone, indeed, in the scale, was to be considered as possibly divisible, and productive of the chromatic note. And this was also probably the opinion of De Garlande's great disciple, the Anonymus of the British Museum, whose short treatise *De Sinemenis*, written upon part of the margin of his larger work [1], would seem indeed to be little more than an informal analysis of the scale undertaken in this point of view; and the result of this analysis is apparently a recognition of the existence of a '*sinemenon*' or '*crux*' (♯), between the two notes composing each whole tone, throughout.

Quite early in the fourteenth century, in the treatise *Ars Contrapuncti*—one of the group formerly ascribed to De Vitry [2]—we find the universal application of chromatic alteration boldly asserted as a law. 'Music is called *Ficta*,' says the author, 'when we make a tone to be a semitone, and conversely, a semitone to be a tone. For every tone is divisible into two semitones, and consequently the semitonic signs can appear between all tones.'

[1] B. M. Royal MSS. 12, C, vi. Also *Cousse. Script.* i. 327.
[2] *Cousse. Script* iii. 23.

Thus:—

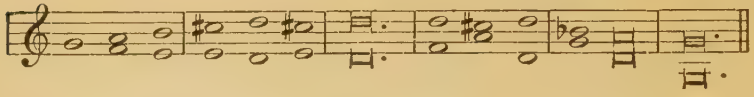


Such then, apparently, was the general theory, settled before the year 1320, with respect to the multiplication of semitones. Its definition was an event of the highest importance for the art of music, since, as will be seen, the learned writers, in their endeavours to explain the empirical practice revealed in De Garlande's examples, have once more evolved the principle of a chromatic scale.

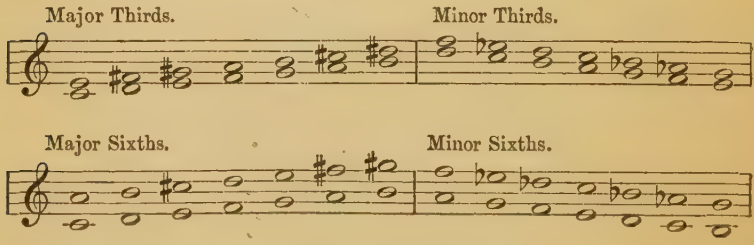
To this period, which saw the settlement of the theory of multiplied semitones, belongs also the reduction of the first empirical use of the enlarged *Musica Ficta* to intelligible rule. And since the most important results of that enlargement, in our present point of view, are to be seen in its extension of the existing methods of counterpoint, we shall do well, before indicating the nature of that extension, to state very briefly what those methods were.

The rules of the contemporary counterpoint, as regards progression, although they vary in different treatises with respect to unimportant matters, may be said to have been generally as follows. Composers recognized five species of concordant intervals, of which three were perfect—octave, fifth, and unison, and two imperfect—the major sixth and the third; the minor sixth was still counted among the discords, and could therefore only be used uncorrected in counterpoint as one of a group of notes of small value. In progression the most natural and obvious method was thought to be from perfect to imperfect intervals and vice versa, and in the upper part as much as possible by conjunct and contrary movement. So that in practice the unison was generally followed by the major or minor third or the fifth, both thirds by the fifth, or the major third sometimes by the major sixth or even the octave, the fifth by the major sixth, the major sixth by the

octave. And all these progressions could be reversed. The general practice is illustrated in the following example :—



It is evident from this example that the chromatic notes which appear in it have nothing to do with *Musica Ficta* in the old sense, with the perfection, that is to say, of the fourth and fifth ; on the contrary we see that they belong to a system which is connected with the essentially imperfect species, and that they are used when needful, to create major and minor varieties respectively of these species, upon notes which naturally do not exhibit them. May we not therefore say that the power to do this, which arises directly from the enlarged system of *Musica Ficta*, has greatly increased the resources of the scale ? For indeed—to apply the principle fully—the diatonic octave, though containing within itself only three major and four minor thirds, and four major and three minor sixths, may be made by means of the chromatic semitones to exhibit either of these intervals upon every note.



The rules for the application of the chromatic signs, as given in the treatise *Ars Discantus*, ascribed to De Muris [1], were few and simple :—

1. In the case of minor thirds and sixths, followed according to the usual method by fifth and octave respectively, the upper

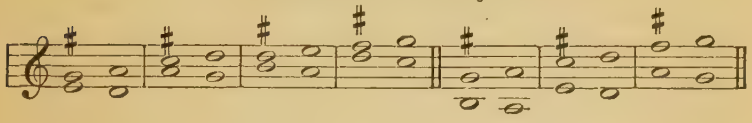
[1] *Coussc. Script.* iii. 68.

voice also rising one degree, the minor interval is made major by ♯.

2. In the case of major thirds and sixths, again followed by fifth and octave respectively, the upper voice moreover descending one degree, the major interval is made minor by ♭.

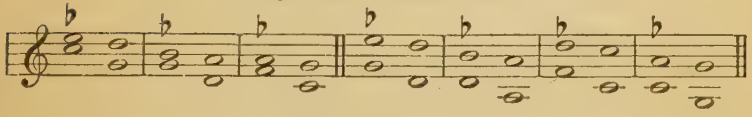
Example of Rule i.

Minor intervals made Major.



Example of Rule ii.

Major intervals made Minor.



As regards the purely melodic use of alteration, it will be found, from the rules given in this treatise, that of all the licences formerly allowed, according to De Garlande's account, only one was permitted in the fourteenth century. It will also be observed that in stating these rules, and in his reference to the use of chromatics in counterpoint, the author of this treatise employs the hexachordal names of the notes which he has occasion to mention. His rules are as follows:—

1. Whenever in plainsong *la sol la* occurs the *sol* must be 'altered' and the passage sung *fa mi fa.*

2. When *sol fa sol* appears the *fa* must be 'altered' and the passage sung *fa mi fa.*

3. When the plainsong is *re ut re* the *ut* should be 'altered' and the passage sung *fa mi fa.*

(4) In counterpoint also these three notes, *sol fa* and *ut*, are 'altered,' and no others [1].

It may appear, perhaps, as somewhat remarkable that the first use, by the learned writers, of the Sol-fa nomenclature, proper to the hexachordal system, should coincide with the first settlement of the rules of chromatic alteration; for although the hexachordal system had been, from the time of its completion, occasionally described, yet, apart from these descriptions, there is scarcely to be found, until the period at which we have now arrived, any designation of the notes of the scale otherwise than by letters. But the reason for the change is this, that the new chromatic alteration of notes had revealed the existence of a musical principle, perceived at first entirely in its practical aspect, which could only be accurately stated by a reference to the hexachordal system, and by the use of its peculiar nomenclature.

The Hexachordal System.

The hexachordal system had its origin, apparently, in a musical expedient devised by Guido, with a view to supersede the prevailing methods of teaching singing. We know, however, very little respecting the beginning and growth of the system, and it is of course possible that it may have had its rise in considerations of a more theoretical nature than those suggested by the direction of a choir. But Guido's language, in speaking of the short scale of six notes in his own letter to his friend Michael, *De Ignoto Cantu* [2], is that of a man who has discovered an extraordinarily successful means of saving time and trouble in his work, and in fact suggests nothing else with regard to it.

According to the prevailing methods singers were taught by ear; that is to say, by listening to the notes of the *cantus*, as

[1] D ♯ was not used, its lower major sixth requiring a chromatic note (F ♯) in the tenor. In alteration by flats B, E, and A were alone used, D ♭ requiring, in its lower minor third, a chromatic note (B ♭) in the tenor.

[2] Gerbert, *Scriptores*, ii. 43.

they were either tediously evolved from the monochord or sung by the master, until the various intervals of each passage were firmly impressed upon the memory. These processes Guido does not blame, but he compares the length of time which they require, and their limited result, with the relative speed and large capacity of his own method, in which by learning one melody the pupil acquires the means of singing all others. His position is based upon experience. It will be found, he says in effect, that in the case of an attractive metrical melody, for instance, already known or soon learned by heart, the sound—including the syllable of text—with which it begins, or the first sound and syllable indeed of any of its lines or sections, is easily at any time recalled to mind; and if while the melody is being learned a written copy be exhibited before the eyes of the singers, and the sound and syllable be thus associated with the written sign of the note, the sound will at any time and in any circumstances be remembered at sight of the sign.

The material for the method founded upon these observations is contained in a single verse of a hymn in sapphic metre, beginning *Ut queant laxis*, proper to the feast of St. John the Baptist; and the suitability of this verse for Guido's purpose arises from the fact that each of its sections begins upon a different degree of the scale, proceeding regularly from below upwards. It is given by Guido in his letter, as follows:—

C D F $\overline{\text{D E}}$ D D D C D E E
Ut queant lax - is resonare fibris

$\overline{\text{E F G}}$ E D $\overline{\text{E C}}$ D F G a $\overline{\text{G F E}}$ D D
Mi - ra gesto - rum famuli tuo - rum,

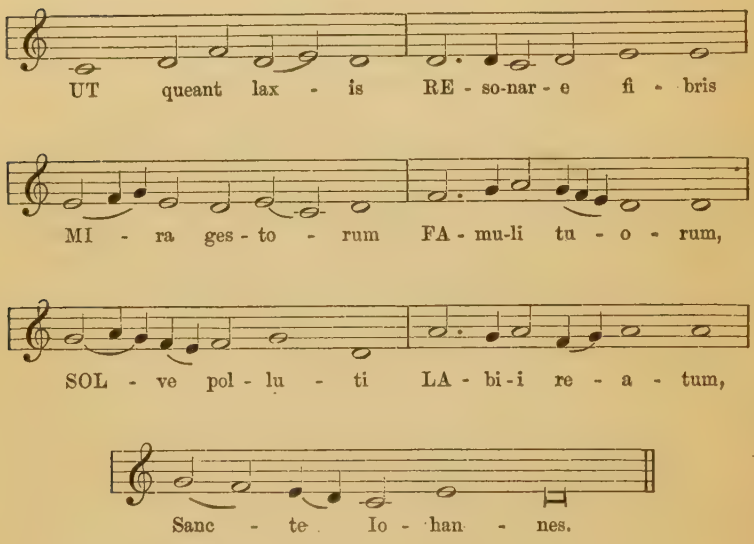
$\overline{\text{G a G}}$ $\overline{\text{F E}}$ F G D a G a $\overline{\text{F G}}$ a a
Sol - ve pol - luti labii rea - tum,

$\overline{\text{G F}}$ $\overline{\text{E D}}$ C E D
Sanc - te Io - hannes.

In the attempts which have been from time to time made to show this melody in modern notes it has always been represented

as unrhythmic, and has therefore been no doubt always a subject of extreme perplexity to the reader, who wonders that a composition so devoid of character and meaning could ever have been thought to answer Guido's purpose. Shown, however, as it was probably sung in Guido's time, according to the mediaeval accentual form of the metre, it is far from unpleasing:

Mode ii.



Guido next indicates the application of this material to his purpose. 'If then,' he says, 'an experienced singer shall so know the opening of each of these sections that he can, without hesitation, begin forthwith any one of them that he pleases, he will easily be able to utter, with absolute correctness, each of these six notes, wherever he may see them'; and he finally declares that this assertion is entirely borne out by his own experience.—'For since I have undertaken to teach this method to my boys, certain of them have succeeded, easily, within three days, in singing melodies previously unknown to

them; a result which formerly, by the other methods, could not have been brought about in many weeks[1].'

There can be little doubt that in the six notes, C–a, brought forward by Guido, we have the beginning of the hexachordal system, or that the remaining members were created upon this pattern, to afford a means of extension, by which not only the notes immediately above and below this group, but also, by repetition, all the notes of the complete scale, as far as the treble *e*, might be brought within the scope of the method. Indeed, if we consider how few are the melodies that could be confined within the limits of the short scale C–a, it is evident that the need for extension must have been felt at once, and that the groups G–E and F–d, which complete the essential part of the system, must have been added within a very short period of time.

The idea of completing the system by means of groups cast in exactly the same form as the original specimen, arose probably not only from the natural love of regular similarity, nor yet only from a perception of the relative suitability of this means to the purpose in view, but also from a desire to depart no further than might be strictly necessary from the Greek system of tetrachords which still constituted the scale in use. For it will be seen at once that the *Hexachordum durum*, G–E, is nothing more, in this point of view, than a group composed of the Greek tetrachord *Hypatón* and two lower notes, of which one is the A (*Proslambanomenos*), added to the tetrachordal system by the Greeks themselves, and the other the Γ *gamma*, added below A more than a century before the time of Guido. In the same point of view the original group C–a, the *Hexachordum naturale*, is but the tetrachord *Mesón*, with the addition

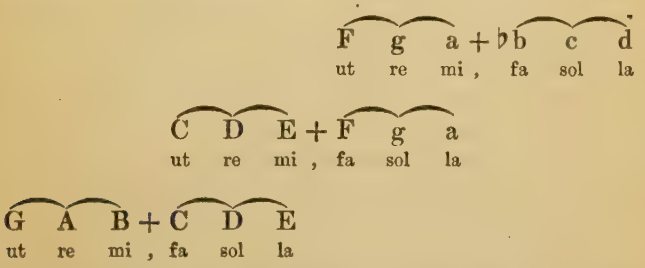
[1] Si quis itaque uniuscuiusque particulae caput ita exercitatus noverit, ut confestim quamcumque particulam voluerit indubitanter incipiat, easdem sex voces ubicumque viderit secundum suas proprietates facile pronuntiare poterit. . . . Namque postquam hoc argumentum cepi pueris tradere, ante triduum quidam eorum potuerunt ignotos cantus leviter canere, quod aliis argumentis nec multis hebdomadibus poterat evenire. Gerbert, *Scriptores*, ii. 45.

of two notes below it, which are in fact the second and third notes of the tetrachord *Hypatôn* repeated. Again, the *Hexachordum Molle*, F–d, is seen in this point of view as composed of the tetrachord *Synemmenôn* together with the second and third notes of the tetrachord *Mesôn*, borrowed and placed below:—

Be this however as it may, the combination of old and new elements which is revealed in our illustration proved, as is generally the case, fatal to the older system, for there can be no doubt that the hexachords did actually both absorb and supersede the Greek forms. Indeed, it is obvious that the effect of the innovation, in whatever point of view it may be considered, is finally to take away from the notes B, E, a—the lowest sounds of the old fundamental tetrachords—their former special significance, while G, C, F, on the other hand, are now brought forward, and made prominent as the roots of the three short

hexachordal scales. These scales, it may be granted at once, are empirical, and must therefore of course be said to be without any scientific importance whatever; yet, apart from the fact that they were in common use down to the year 1600—and so may at least be thought to have proved perfectly suitable to the purpose for which they were intended—they must certainly always possess a peculiar interest for us, in their constitution of the system from which, as its apparent consequence, our modern group of Keys—Tonic, Dominant, and Subdominant—eventually emerged.

The complete hexachordal system consists then of these three short scales and their octaves, and each scale, now considered in itself, may be seen as containing two groups of notes, each group consisting of two conjunct whole tones connected by a semitone. The method of their arrangement is indicated in our last illustration, where the hexachords are shown as overlapping, each repeating in its first half the last half of that below it. But each hexachord should also exhibit the six syllables of the Guidonian use, in the original order, as its characteristic nomenclature.



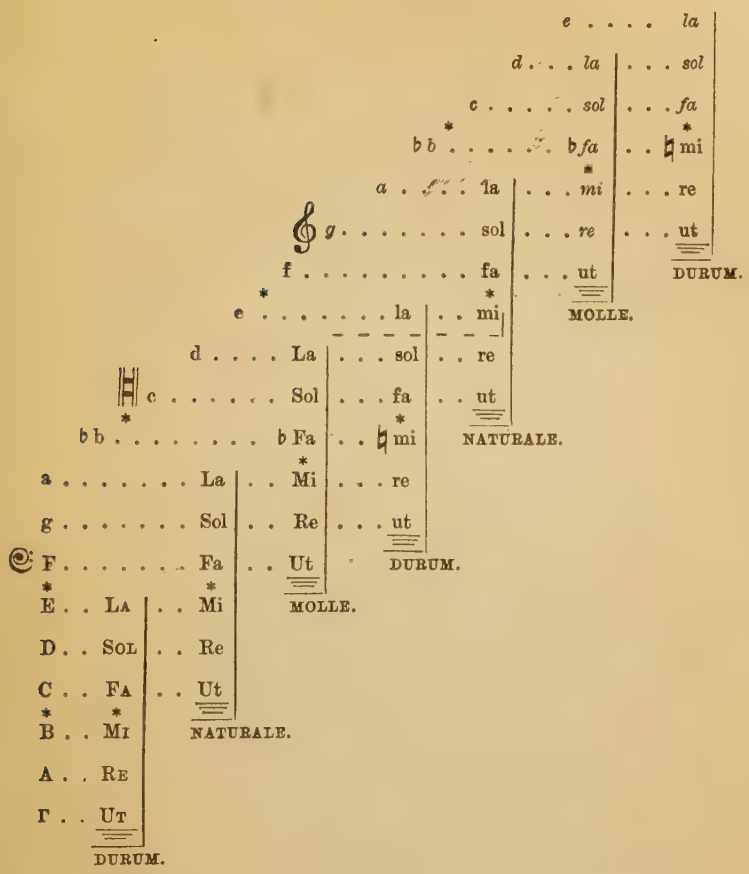
The enlargement of the system beyond the six notes of Guido's formula, to include the bass G on the one hand and the treble *e* on the other, was intended, as we supposed, to bring about a complete extension of the advantage which was proposed by Guido—to make it possible, that is to say, for singers to pass through the entire scale, calling each note by its Guidonian name, and also conversely enabling them, at sight

either of a Guidonian name or of one of the characters of the common letter notation, to enunciate its appropriate sound, in any circumstances or combinations, with confidence and correctness.

And in order to illustrate the method by which this result is actually brought about, and the singer directed in his passage from hexachord to hexachord, a table of the complete system is given upon the opposite page.

The direction, it may be briefly said, which the singer receives is by means of a rule which obliges him, in passing upward in continuous deduction through these scales, so to name the notes which he utters that the syllables *mi-fa* shall always contain the semitone, and that the whole tones should naturally fall upon the intervals *ut-re, re-mi, fa-sol, sol-la*. The necessity for this rule arises from the peculiar arrangement of the hexachords—springing, so to speak, one from another, and each in turn originating the next above—which gives to every note, except the first three and the last of all, more than one name. For instance, the sixth note of the scale in our table, E, is *la* in the *Hexachordum durum*, while in the *Hexachordum naturale* it is *mi*. But the singer can of course employ only one of these syllables; which then, in passing upwards, is he to use? The rule here removes all difficulty, and the note E, *la*, which ends the first hexachord, being also the lower member of a semitonic interval, indicates *mi* as the proper syllable for this sound. The singer, therefore, beginning upon the low G, and intending to proceed upwards beyond E, must prepare for the necessary change of nomenclature by a *mutation*, or transition into the neighbouring hexachord, an operation which is best performed at the fourth note, *fa*, of the first hexachord, by a passage thence to the second note, *re*, of the *Hexachordum naturale*. Thus the singer proceeds correctly through the semitonic interval, and from its *fa* he again passes to *re* in the third hexachord next above—the *Hexachordum molle*. Here special treatment is necessary, in order to prevent possible false

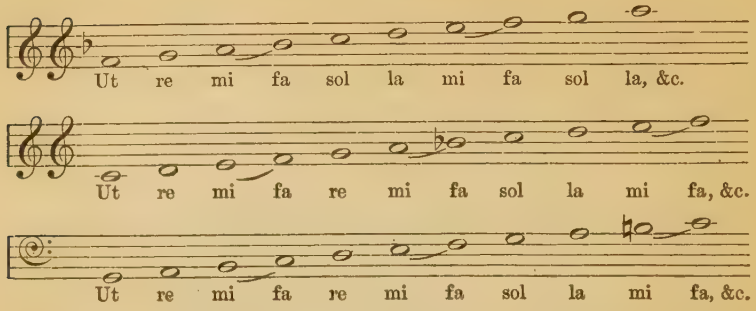
TABLE OF THE HEXACHORDS.


e . . . . la
d . . . la . . . sol
c . . . . sol . . . fa
b b . . . . b fa . . ♮ mi
a . . . . la . . . mi . . . re
g . . . . . sol . . . re . . . ut
f . . . . . fa . . . ut
DURUM.
e . . . . . la . . mi
MOLLE.
d . . . . La . . . sol . . re
c . . . . . Sol . . . fa . . ut
b b . . . . . b Fa . . ♮ mi
NATURALE.
a . . . . . La . . Mi . . . re
g . . . . . Sol . . Re . . . ut
F . . . . . Fa . . Ut
DURUM.
E . . La . . Mi
MOLLE.
D . . Sol . . Re
C . . Fa . . Ut
B . . Mi
NATURALE.
A . . Re
Γ . . Ut
DURUM.

The star indicates the semitonic interval.

relation between the B♭ of this hexachord and the B♮ of the following one, the upper *Hexachordum durum*; the *Hexachordum molle*, in fact, was generally completed to *la*, and a passage then made across the upper *Hexachordum durum* to the *mi* of the upper *Hexachordum naturale*. Thence the path is clear; the table sufficiently shows the remaining mutations, which in fact repeat those just described.

THE HEXACHORDAL MUTATIONS IN THE SCALES OF G, C, AND F.



We may now perhaps more clearly understand the directions given by the writer quoted at the close of our account of *Musica Ficta*, who says that when the notes *la sol la*, *sol fa sol*, and *ut re ut* occur in any passage, the middle note must be raised, and the group, in each case, must be sung *fa mi fa*. In other words, the whole tones a G a, G F G, and D C D, should, on account of the character of their progression and according to the usual practice in such cases, be transformed into semitones, and sung a G♯ a, G F♯ G, and D C♯ D—for these are the notes expressed by the formula *fa mi fa* as applied to the writer's three examples respectively. But G♯, F♯, and C♯ are not to be found in our table, where *fa mi fa* expresses the notes C B C, F E F, B ♭ A B ♭, and no others. It is clear, therefore, that while the three examples given by the writer belong, without the ♯, to the normal system based on Γ, the same notes, with the ♯ and called *fa mi fa*, can only form part of imaginary systems, exactly corresponding to the normal, based on E, D, and A respectively, and obtained by means of supposed transposition. And from this we see that the musicians of this period, having first realized the fact that every whole tone can be divided into two semitones, had now also perceived the possibility of creating the interval *mi fa* at any point in the hexachordal system, and therefore of modulating into similar systems based upon any given note of the scale.

The hexachordal system, then, may be regarded in two aspects; in one as a method which, though awkward and possibly clumsy, proved nevertheless, during the Modal epoch, exceedingly successful in teaching singing; in the other as a system of three short scales, founded probably upon the Greek tetrachords, which exhibit—thanks to the accident that cast their lowest notes upon C, G, and F′ respectively—certain remarkable analogies with the later system of Keys; and thus, by their creation of a field, as we have just seen, for the development of ideas which properly belong to the Key system, such as those of exact transposition and chromatic modulation, may be said to have largely contributed to the music of modern times.

Faulx Bourdon.

It will have been observed that the various specimens which have illustrated in our work the first appearance and early progress of polyphony to the end of the thirteenth century are to be recognized, almost without exception, either as forming part of the actual services of the church or as closely connected with them; and considering the ever increasing volume of production, in the same kind, and the condition of confidence and security on the part of the composers which this would naturally suggest, we might perhaps be inclined to assume that the prevailing methods of composition in parts had at all times hitherto commended themselves, upon the whole, to the authorities whose sanction was necessary to their use in the church. Through all their changes, apparently, these methods had been at least tolerated, and even when not obviously in full accord with the conceptions entertained by the Roman *Curia*, their authors would seem to have been free, at any rate, from direct official interference.

Yet, if we consider the course of musical practice during the earlier stages of the polyphonic evolution, it must be evident, even in the limited view afforded by our illustrations, that the methods developed by 'organists' and composers were frequently

such as might well have given rise to dissatisfaction, and even alarm, among the guardians of the ecclesiastical traditions. It is indeed probable that the polyphonic principle itself, manifested in the independent movement of the individual voices, had been, at the time of its first appearance in music, of necessity the cause of considerable disturbance in the recognized methods of conducting the divine service. For if we may believe that the typical rendering of the ecclesiastical melodies which received the festal ornament of the first, or strictly parallel, organum is correctly represented by a graceful fluent form of song, such as that which has been apparently discovered and restored to us by the learned research of modern times, it will be evident that while this beautiful musical conception, sacred, if we have rightly discerned it, from immemorial antiquity, is perfectly suitable to the purposes of strict organum, it must have given way at once before the necessities of independent movement. The fluent method is, in fact, compatible only with perfect parallelism in the accompanying parts—with simple transpositions, that is to say, of the original passage, at sight, to the interval of some perfect concord—and the gradual departure from parallelism, the necessary deviations enjoined upon the organal voice, first, and the movement in a direction consistently contrary to that of the plainsong which was expressly recommended later, would have been impracticable in organum if the melody had remained rapid and ornate in its method of performance. Unless, then, we are mistaken in our main point, we must suppose that the abandonment of the old fluent utterance of the ecclesiastical melodies, and the adoption of a new rendering, in which all notes, whether simple originally or grouped, were now expressed by sounds of practically equal duration, must have been the work mainly of that period in which the change from the strict to the free kinds of organum was accomplished. Occurring first as a necessity of the free organum, the new method would naturally, from its relatively greater facility, by degrees supersede the older one in the strict

organum also, and eventually, no longer confined to festal purposes, would be extended to the music of the ordinary service, in unison or for the single voice.

The first direct approaches, therefore, towards polyphony had already in all probability given rise to a most important change in the rendering of ecclesiastical melody; yet, since the original notes themselves of the melody had been in all cases carefully preserved in their proper order, by both choir and clergy, these persons were still apparently held guiltless of sacrilegious innovation.

In accepting as necessary the reduction of all the notes of the authorized texts to a common value, the rulers of the church may of course be supposed to have accepted also the kind of music which had created the necessity for alteration—a grave and dignified kind, in which the organal melody, free, yet exactly similar in character to the subject, combined with it to create an effect of great solemnity, and a style which was at once perceived as properly representative of the actual spirit of public worship. This style, therefore, soon became, in fact, as we have already seen, the ideal of concerted composition in ecclesiastical music; its chief characteristics—its gravity, and the deliberate nature of its movement—are often referred to as essential by learned writers from the ninth to the eleventh centuries, and were evidently jealously guarded.

But the primary alteration of the values of the grouped notes of the old cantus, by which each sound received the value formerly accorded to the whole group, and was itself reckoned as a *tempus*, had prepared the way for other innovations, characteristic of the age of discant, such for instance as the enormous and indefinite elongation of the sounds of the *cantus* in *Organum purum*, or their arrangement in poetic rhythm, either simply, as in that form in which the subject runs together with the discant in some well-known metre, or in the more elaborate system of *ordines* employed in the tenor of the Motett. And though each of these methods rendered the

ecclesiastical melody totally indistinguishable, here again a consideration of the necessity for some further alteration of values if discant was to exist at all, and of the fact that the original notes themselves of the melody were still actually present in the composition, in unaltered sequence, might well suggest an indulgent view of the conduct of the discantors.

Yet although this indulgent view of the changes now apparent in the methods of music may well have prevailed during the earliest periods of discant, while the tendency of its innovations was not clearly perceived, it is difficult to suppose that this frame of mind can have long continued among the higher ecclesiastical authorities in view of the further developments of fixed rhythm, which prepared the way for perfectly measured music, developments which, although they were no doubt the natural consequence of the introduction of the poetic metres, were yet none the less opposed to the actual sentiment of public worship, and destructive of the gravity and solemnity which are its special characteristics. For the poetic metres, in music, especially when they are simply vocalized, and this was their most frequent use in the great period of discant, are not reconcilable with religious feeling, but are frankly jovial and secular in their effect. The singer, indeed, embarking upon one of the long passages of discant, for instance, contained in our examples of *Conductus*, or of *Organum purum* in its measured portions, soon becomes aware of the true spirit of the continuous melodic rhythm; though he may begin with caution, by degrees his utterance becomes involuntarily louder, more and more rapid, and more and more emphatic, and his surrender is at last so complete that he restrains himself with difficulty, or perhaps even does not restrain himself, from sympathetic movements of the feet and contortions of the body. All these phenomena at least were characteristic of the discanting of the thirteenth century; the lack of self-restraint in the singers of the time is in fact often commented upon by the learned writers, by whom it is treated as affording a shocking exhibition, the degraded

character of which can only be revealed to the reader's mind by the most bitterly sarcastic descriptions.

In the practice of extempore discant also, a poor and feeble copy, musically speaking, of the methods employed in the written compositions, ample scope was afforded for dissonance in the construction and for licences and exaggerations of utterance of every possible kind; and the appearance of these faults, probably more than anything else in the conditions of the time, must have contributed to create in the minds of the authorities a doubt, soon openly expressed, respecting the possible continuance of music for more than one voice as a part of the public worship of the church [1].

[1] 'Music,' bluntly says John of Salisbury, in the twelfth century, when the methods of discant were developing, 'defiles the service of religion. For the admiring simple souls of the congregation are of necessity depraved—in the very presence of the Lord, in the sacred recesses themselves of the sanctuary—by the riot of the wantoning voice, by its eager ostentation, and by its womanish affectations in the mincing of notes and sentences.' 'Could you but hear,' he continues in effect, 'one of these enervating performances executed with all the devices of the art, you might think it a chorus of Sirens, but not of men, and you would be astonished at the singers' facility, with which indeed neither that of the nightingale or parrot, nor of whatever else there may be that is more remarkable in this kind, can compare. For this facility is displayed in long ascents and descents, in the dividing or in the redoubling of notes, in the repetition of phrases, and the clashing of the voices, while, in all this, the high or even the highest notes of the scale are so mingled with the lower and lowest, that the ears are almost deprived of their power to distinguish.' *Polycratus*, i. 6.

The methods of rendering the *Hoquet* and the guttural *plica* are satirized in the *Speculum Charitatis* by Ailred, a contemporary of the writer quoted above; the passage is here given from Prynne's translation of it, employed in his notorious work, *Histriomastix*. 'Sometimes thou mayst see a man with an open mouth, not to sing, but as it were to breathe out his last gasp, by shutting in his breath, and by a certain ridiculous interception of his voice to threaten silence, and now again to imitate the agonies of a dying man, or the ecstasies of such as suffer.'

Jean de Muris, also, in his *Speculum Musice*, vii. 9, refers particularly to two classes of singers as especially offensive to the cultivated musician; on the one hand the merely incompetent performers, ignorant of the nature of consonance and dissonance and creating a constant cacophony, yet full of confidence and ready to defend their intervals as 'new consonances'; and on the other hand those 'who although they may know something of discant according to the modern use (about 1300), yet do not exhibit a good style, discanting too wantonly (that is to say in too floreated a manner), and multiplying superfluous notes; some of them "hoquet" too much, they break and divide the notes more than is desirable, and perform their leaps and other vocal antics at inopportune moments. They bark and bay in the manner of dogs, and like lunatics delight in disorderly and aimless hurryings to and fro.' *Cousse. Script.* ii. 394.

Returning to the composers, we may note as certain another source of probably extreme annoyance to the clergy, namely, the introduction of secular songs, even though disfigured and distorted, into the upper parts of Motetts. And though the songs themselves were not often recognizable, from the treatment which they had received, this cannot also be said of the words, generally either erotic or bacchanalian, which were continued in the new circumstances apparently without mitigation of any kind.

The long passages of metrical rhythm characteristic of the music of the thirteenth century were not employed in the compositions of the age immediately succeeding, but an effect of rapidity in all the parts, which might have been thought unsuitable to sacred music, was now obtained by means of the frequent use of notes of smaller value than the *tempus*, of the semibreve for instance. The time value proper to the *tempus*, or breve, was the smallest capable of utterance by the fully produced voice [1]; while the *tempus* therefore was steady and strong, and the passage from it to the next note clear and definite, the utterance of the smaller value, not employing the full energy of the voice, must have been comparatively weak, and its movement rapid, light, and gliding, productive of the effect so often described by the learned writers as 'wanton'; and although the result of any introduction of values smaller than those already existing must always be to increase the length of the older notes, yet this increase is not so much observed by the ear as are the apparent freedom and velocity derived from the new smaller values. If therefore we may suppose the ecclesiastical view of the semibreve, when employed not as a passing note, but as a part of the construction of the discant [2], to have been unfavourable, there can be little doubt that upon the introduction of the minim the dismay of the clergy must have become complete.

But perhaps the most serious objection, on the part of the

[1] 'Unum tempus appellatur illud quod est minimum in plenitudine vocis.' *Ars Cantus mensurabilis*; *Cousse. Script.* i. 120.

[2] See the Motetts contained in the closing pages of vol. i of the present work.

clergy, to the continuance of the prevailing state of things, in which the conduct of festal music was, evidently, largely controlled by the laymen of the choir, must have arisen from the improper treatment of the ecclesiastical Modes by singers who were apparently either ignorant or careless with respect to their special characteristics. The clergy themselves, indeed, had been, from the first establishment of the Modes, unwittingly guilty of a certain error with regard to them, in a system of nomenclature, still prevailing in the present day, in which the Greek names are employed, but applied to the wrong scales [1]; this error, however, leaves the scales themselves intact, while that of the extempore discant confuses and destroys them, since it consists in a disregard of their true limits and in the use of irregular modulations as points of repose. That these faults were easily avoided, at all times, by the learned composers of written discant, is evident from the examples of the various polyphonic forms already given in the present work—where, indeed, the only failure to observe modal propriety is seen in those cases in which

[1] The Greek names, though not often used in the mediaeval treatises, were probably first attached to the Modes by the compilers of the final system, shown on p. 39 of vol. i of the present work. These authorities had derived from the later classical writers a knowledge of the names of the Greek modes, and of their order, Hypodorian, Hypophrygian, &c.; but they were ignorant of the fact that in the written Greek scale the lowest note is at the top and the highest at the bottom (see *ante*, vol. i. p. 10, note). In applying the Greek names, therefore, to their own scale, in which the lowest note is at the bottom, they reversed the whole doctrine, thus :—

The Seven Modes or Species.

Mediaeval System.		*Greek System.*	
Hypodorian	a	A	Hypodorian.
Mixolydian	G	B	Mixolydian.
Lydian	F	C	Lydian.
Phrygian	E	D	Phrygian.
Dorian	D	E	Dorian.
Hypolydian	C	F	Hypolydian.
Hypophrygian	B	G	Hypophrygian or Iastian.
Hypodorian	A	a	Hypodorian or Aeolian.

The proper (Greek) order is Hypodorian, upper, or small, a; Hypophrygian, G immediately below; Hypolydian, F immediately below; and so on. The Mediaeval order begins the same series *upon the wrong note*, and gives Hypodorian upon the low, or great, A; Hypophrygian on the B immediately *above*, Hypolydian on C above; and so on.

a part only of an antiphon is given, and consequently the true final of the mode remains unknown. And in fact the composer, with the parchment before him, need never be in doubt, either with regard to his modulations, as the notes upon which closes might occur were called, or to the limits of his scale, since he may at any moment pause in his work to consider his position. But it is easy to see, on the other hand, that in the hurry of extempore composition, in which the chief proof of skill was a constant breaking and floreation of the notes, the bounds of the modal scale must often have been exceeded, and that the rules for closing, even—rules which preserved the contrapuntal form of the modulations—must have been sometimes disobeyed. The prevailing character, therefore, of the extempore discant melody must, not unfrequently, have appeared as altogether vague and unmodal; and this must have been, in the opinion of the clergy, an intolerable defect, since it became no longer possible in such cases to recognize, in the performance as a whole, the character proper to the plainsong subject.

It is now obvious that, as a consequence of the introduction of discant into the divine service, a situation of considerable difficulty, naturally arising from the opposition of conflicting ideals, must have been created and gradually developed in the church. On the one hand was the great and powerful body of the clergy, endeavouring by all means to preserve intact in public worship that elementary expression of the congregational spirit which is contained in the music of the church, and requiring, with instinctive propriety, as a fundamental condition of festal enrichment, that all embellishment of the ecclesiastical melodies by means of added voices should be similar in character, at least, to the special character of the melodies themselves; on the other hand were the composers and discantors, at first of one mind with the clergy, but later becoming by degrees more and more preoccupied by the artistic problem, and employing more and more in their enrichments of the service material essentially different in character from plainsong, yet thus advancing by

these methods of their own, and by the technical improvements which from time to time suggested themselves, the development of the capacities and capabilities of the naturally progressive kind of music.

The dissatisfaction aroused in the minds of the clergy by the prevailing methods of the composers would seem to have reached its climax during the early years of the fourteenth century, and remonstrance and admonition having been already attempted, naturally in vain, and a decision having now been taken to adopt stronger measures, the Pope, John XXII, in the year 1322, issued, from Avignon, a decree absolutely forbidding the use of discant, even of the most elementary kind, in the church services in future. The language of this document is exceedingly concise[1], but the sense is probably as follows :—

'Certain disciples of the new school, much occupying themselves with the measured dividing of the *tempora*, display their prolation in notes which are new to us, preferring to devise

[1] Nonnulli novellae scholae discipuli, dum temporibus mensurandis invigilant, novis notis intendunt, fingere suas quam antiquas cantare malunt; in semibreves et minimas ecclesiastica cantantur, notulis percutiuntur. Nam melodias hoquetis intersecant, discantibus lubricant, triplis et motetis vulgaribus nonnumquam inculcant; adeo ut interdum antiphonarii et gradualis fundamenta despiciant, ignorent super quo aedificant; tonos nesciant quos non discernunt, imo confundunt cum ex earum multitudine notarum, ascensiones pudicae descensionesque temperatae plani cantus, quibus toni ipsi cernuntur adinuicem, obfuscentur. Currunt enim et non quiescunt, aures inebriant et non medentur, gestis simulant quod depromunt; quibus devotio quaerenda contemnitur, vitanda lascivia propagatur.

Hoc ideo dudum, nos et fratres nostri correctionis indigere percepimus; hoc relegare, imo potius abiicere, et ab eadem ecclesia Dei profligare efficacius properamus. Quocirca de ipsorum fratrum consilio districte praecepimus, ut nullus deinceps talia, vel his similia, in dictis officiis, praesertim horis canonicis, vel cum missarum solemnia celebrantur, attentare praesumat. Si quis vero contrafecerit, per Ordinarios locorum ubi ista commissa fuerint, vel deputandos ab eis, in non exemptis, in exemptis vero per Praepositos vel Praelatos suos, ad quos alios correctio et punitio culparum, et excessuum huiusmodi vel similium, pertinere dignoscitur, vel deputandos ab eisdem, per suspensionem ab officio per octo dies auctoritate huius canonis puniatur.

Per hoc autem non intendimus prohibere, quin interdum, diebus festis praecipue, sive solemnibus in missis, et praefatis divinis officiis, aliquae consonantiae quae melodiam sapiunt, puta octavae, quintae, quartae, et huiusmodi supra cantum ecclesiasticum simplicem proferantur. Sic tamen ut ipsius cantus integritas illibata permaneat, et nihil ex hoc de bene morata musica immutetur. Maxime

methods of their own rather than to continue singing in the old way; the music therefore of the divine offices is now performed with semibreves and minims, and with these notes of small value every composition is pestered. Moreover, they truncate the melodies with hoquets, they deprave them with discants, sometimes even they stuff them with upper parts (*triplis et motetis*) made out of secular songs. So that often they must be losing sight of the fundamental sources of our melodies in the Antiphoner and Gradual, and may thus forget what that is upon which their superstructure is raised. They may become entirely ignorant concerning the ecclesiastical Tones, which they already no longer distinguish, and the limits of which they even confound, since, in the multitude of their notes, the modest risings and temperate descents of the plainsong, by which the scales themselves are to be known one from another, must be entirely obscured. Their voices are incessantly running to and fro, intoxicating the ear, not soothing it, while the men themselves endeavour to convey by their gestures the sentiment of the music which they utter. As a consequence of all this, devotion, the true end of worship, is little thought of, and wantonness, which ought to be eschewed, increases.

'This state of things, hitherto the common one, we and our brethren have regarded as standing in need of correction; and we now hasten therefore to banish those methods, nay rather to cast them entirely away, and to put them to flight more effectually than heretofore, far from the house of God. Wherefore, having taken counsel with our brethren, we straitly command that no one henceforward shall think himself at liberty to attempt those methods, or methods like them, in the aforesaid Offices, and especially in the canonical Hours, or in the solemn celebrations of the Mass.

'And if any be disobedient, let him, on the authority of this

cum huiusmodi consonantiae auditum demulceant, devotionem provocent, et psallentium Deo animos torpere non sinant. *Extravag. comm. lib.* 3, *tit.* 1, *cap. unic. De vita et honest. clericor.*

Canon, be punished by a suspension from office of eight days; either by the Ordinary of the diocese in which the forbidden things are done or by his deputies in places not exempt from episcopal authority, or, in places which are exempt, by such of their officers as are usually considered responsible for the correction of irregularities and excesses, and such like matters.

'Yet, for all this, it is not our intention to forbid, occasionally—and especially upon feast days or in the solemn celebrations of the Mass and in the aforesaid divine offices—the use of some consonances, for example the eighth, fifth, and fourth, which heighten the beauty of the melody; such intervals therefore may be sung above the plain *cantus ecclesiasticus*, yet so that the integrity of the *cantus* itself may remain intact, and that nothing in the authoritative music be changed. Used in such sort the consonances would much more than by any other method both soothe the hearer and arouse his devotion, and also would not destroy religious feeling in the minds of the singers.'

This document, sufficiently remarkable in itself, derives additional weight from the great age of its author, who being eighty-two years old at the time of its issue may be thought to have been well acquainted with the course of florid discant, from the great Franconian period onwards. But though the decree is generally referred to, and sometimes partially quoted, by historians, its real importance, consisting in the effect which it produced upon the conduct of divine service, and in some respects upon the general course of music itself, is not indicated, and would seem to have escaped observation. Yet there can be little doubt that, as regards its immediate effect, the orders contained in it were punctually and even gladly carried out by the clergy, and that for a considerable period of time florid discant was banished, as completely as the Pope intended, from the church. In 1408, for instance, in the Cathedral of Notre-Dame in Paris, of old the home of the first and greatest school of discant, it was still forbidden, notwithstanding that eighty-six years had then elapsed since the publication of the Pope's edict.

Our information upon this point is derived incidentally from a code of rules for the government of the *Maîtrise*, or choir school, of Notre-Dame, drawn up in the year just mentioned, by Jean Charlier [1], canon and chancellor of the Cathedral. The rule in question is as follows:—

'Furthermore let a master, at appointed hours, teach the children singing; plainsong chiefly, but also counterpoint and certain seemly discants; not dissolute and immodest *cantilenae*, nor let him dwell upon these musical matters to the hindrance of their progress in grammar. And let him be very specially attentive to this, inasmuch as in our own church discant is not in use, being prohibited by statute, at least as regards the voices called mutatae [2].' In the treatises of this period the *voces mutatae* are the men of the choir, the *voces non mutatae* the boys; we see, therefore, from the language employed in this passage, that while the men were evidently not trusted, but were still bound by a statute embodying the Pope's commands, the boys might safely, and without fear of possible licences, be taught to sing a counterpoint upon the plainsong, generally note against note, sometimes perhaps less plain, but always apparently written, and according to rule; but it is evident that this practice formed no special feature of the divine service.

The conditions which we here see prevailing in Notre Dame at the beginning of the fifteenth century—conditions which we may probably imagine as existing at that time in most of the French cathedrals—must certainly, notwithstanding their narrow limits, have been less rigid than those which obtained at periods nearer to the date of the edict; for we must naturally suppose that as regards the accompaniment of plainsong, at least,

[1] Better known perhaps as *Gerson* from his birthplace.

[2] Porro magister cantus statutis horis doceat pueros. Planum cantum principaliter, et contrapunctum, et aliquos discantus honestos; non cantilenas dissolutas, impudicasque, nec faciant eos tantum insistere in talibus, quod perdant in grammatica profectum. Attento maxime, quod in Ecclesia nostra discantus non est in usu, sed per statuta prohibitus, saltem quoad voces quae mutatae dicuntur.—F. L. Chartier, *L'Ancien Chapitre de Notre-Dame de Paris* [Paris, 1897], pp. 67–8.

the provisions of the injunction of 1322 were strictly enforced within the range of the Pope's influence during his life, which was prolonged until 1334. But some attempt to break through the imposed restrictions, to regain some measure, at any rate, of freedom, was sooner or later inevitable; and in fact, within a short time probably after the Pope's death, at some period, as we may suppose, when though the vigilance of the authorities might be somewhat relaxed flat disobedience would still be dangerous, a method of embellishment, based upon an artifice of the most ingenious and subtle kind, seems to have been devised by singers in order to escape from the strict observance of the edict while still appearing to conform to it. This method was of French origin, and having apparently no Latin name was called, even by learned writers, in the descriptive vernacular, *Faulx bourdon*, False bass. It consists, when written, in a simple two-part *organum* at the fifth, in which an additional voice is inserted at an equal distance from each of the first two—as a third, that is to say, to both. The position of this third part, which, according to the old rule, should have been a reduplication at the octave of one of the existing voices, was indeed an innovation, but an innovation difficult to criticize, since the parallel fifths still played apparently the most prominent part, and the Pope's injunction therefore might seem to have been obeyed. The true nature, however, of the device, and its real purpose, was revealed in the vocal execution of this irregular organum. Of the three singers standing before the book, those who were chosen for the two upper parts, being suitable in voice to the task allotted to them, sang their notes in the ordinary manner, as they were written; but the remaining performer, chosen for the apparent *bourdon* or lowest voice—the singer of the *cantus firmus*, in fact—possessed actually the highest voice, and he therefore transposed the plainsong at sight to the octave above, and so sang it throughout. In other words, the organum, as sung, was composed, and was intended to be composed, of sixths and thirds; and since this form was not conceded by

the Pope's edict, the highest part was written in the choir books an octave below its true pitch, as a *false bass*, in order to create an appearance of obedience, thus :—

The sentences or sections of *faulx bourdon* ended, as in all other forms of composition in parts, with perfect concords. In our example therefore of the method as sung the upper voice should take F for the last note, and the voice next below should take C. Sentences might also begin in the same way, but this was not thought to be absolutely necessary.

The general effect of *faulx bourdon*, though far less bare than that of the old organum of parallel perfect concords, is still somewhat mechanical and barbaric, yet upon the whole superior to that of the contemporary studied composition in mixed intervals; thus the method found at first great favour, not only in France and England, but also in Italy—where probably it was first brought in the year 1377, by the singers of the Pope's Chapel returning from Avignon; and in all the countries of its adoption it would seem to have become especially popular as the accompaniment of the liturgical hymns and of the chants of the Psalter. Moreover, everywhere the disguise from which it derived its name was eventually abandoned, and the notes at last, when written, were written as sung.

It will not have escaped remark that our account of the actual origin of *faulx bourdon* in a subtle evasion of plain directions is hypothetical in character, and is not supported by reference to contemporary treatises; but we possess in fact no account of the method which can be thought to be contemporary with its first use, nor indeed, if its invention may be supposed to have been due to the motive which has now been

Faulx Bourdon as sung.

Organum of Sixths and Thirds.

[Cantus.]
De - us cre - a - tor om - ni - um,
[De - us cre - a - tor om - ni - um,
[De - us cre - a - tor om - ni - um,
Po - li - que rec - tor, ves - ti - ens
Po - li - que rec - tor, ves - ti - ens
Po - li - que rec - tor, ves - ti - ens
Di - em de - co - ro lu - mi - ne,
Di - em de - co - ro lu - mi - ne,
Di - em de - co - ro lu - mi - ne,
Noc - tem so - po - ris gra - ti - a.
Noc - tem so - po - ris gra - ti - a.]
Noc - tem so - po - ris gra - ti - a.]

suggested, is it probable that any description could appear until the device itself had become openly tolerated. With respect, however, to the date of the actual invention of the method, this may perhaps be supposed practically to coincide with the later years of the papal reign at Avignon, ending in 1377, since in no treatise written before that date is any notice of *faulx bourdon* to be found, while on the other hand, soon after the return of the court to Rome, mention of it is frequent as a method in more or less common use throughout Europe. That it was firmly established in the Papal Chapel during the latter half of the fourteenth century is clear from the testimony of Baini, maestro di cappella at the beginning of the last century, who says that although the books from which it was still sung in his day dated only from the pontificate of Leo X, he himself had found, in the archives of the Chapel, the remains of a former set, worn and soiled from long use, and written and noted in a hand undoubtedly of the fourteenth century[1]. And although it may perhaps be thought somewhat remarkable that a device invented in order to evade a papal edict of 1322 should, in 1377, have been already adopted by the Chapel, we have to remember that five popes had reigned in Avignon since the death of John XXII, and that at any time during their successive pontificates the severity of the injunction may have been relaxed in favour of a method so harmless, both in itself and in its apparent tendency, as *faulx bourdon*.

The circumstances relating to the origin of *faulx bourdon* have been in modern times the subject of investigation by two distinguished writers upon music, Dr. Guido Adler and Professor Hugo Riemann; and it must be confessed that the hypothesis, with respect to the origin of the method, which is

[1] 'Questa maniera di falsobordone si è sempre usata constantemente da tempo immemorabile fino al giorno d' oggi nella nostra cappella. Li libri sui quali noi presentemente li cantiamo, e sui quali gli han cantati i nostri predecessori, sono scritti sotto Leone X; ed io ne ho veduti nel nostro archivio alcuni fogli laceri dal tempo e dall' uso, di carattere senza dubbio del secolo XIV°.' *Memorie . . . di G. P. da Palestrina*, Roma, 1828, vol. i. p. 258, note.

put forward by them, differs widely from that which has commended itself to the present writer. Pursuing the line of argument originating with Dr. Adler and adopted by Professor Riemann—already discussed in the present work (vol. i. pp. 160–3)—namely, that a kind of organizing in thirds and sixths formed the substance of the extempore popular music of England at least as early as the eleventh century, they regard *faulx bourdon* as the native methodic embodiment of this music, adopted eventually by the ecclesiastical singers of the fourteenth century in France and Italy, for its own sake; and it is thus to be considered as one of the chief agents in the breaking down of the ramparts of exclusive tradition, and in the forcible entry of popular unlearned methods into the region of authoritative practice.

We have already stated, at the place just mentioned above, our objections to the general supposition that English singers were specially addicted, before the fourteenth century, to methods of organizing in thirds and sixths—objections based chiefly upon the complete silence, with respect to any such methods, of three of the greatest authorities of the thirteenth century, specially well informed with respect to English music—and while entirely maintaining these objections we may now add another, which refers more particularly to the view of *faulx bourdon* merely as the native methodic embodiment of this supposed popular manner of organizing; and this objection is founded upon the equivocal form of its written presentation in the fourteenth century. For of what conceivable use, it may be asked, can this be when a plain statement is all that is required, or why should a deceptive form have been employed if deception was not called for?

The name also of the method creates a difficulty; for if the method itself is of old English extraction, having its roots in immemorial popular practice, why is the only name that it has ever, so far as we know, possessed in this country—*Faburden*—a mere corruption of the French name adopted in the four-

teenth century? Nothing seems to have been as yet suggested which can afford an answer to these questions.

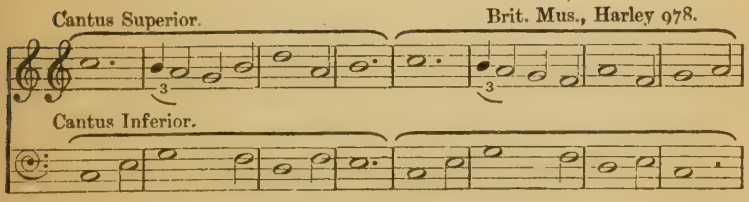
But it is further held by the writers just mentioned that not only *faulx bourdon*, but all the English methods of composition, in the fourteenth century, were directly derived by degrees from the supposed old popular organum in the intervals of the third and sixth. And this view arises chiefly from the consideration of a treatise by one Guilelmus Monachus, of uncertain date, now preserved in the library of St. Mark's at Venice[1], in which the specially English methods of composition, as they existed in the writer's time, are described at some length; and these methods are seen as differing considerably from the contemporary practice of other countries, and are found to consist largely in the use of parallel thirds and sixths in two of the parts, more or less disguised by a free movement in the remaining voices. This technique, it is assumed, must have been of slow growth, dating presumably from a period long antecedent to the fourteenth century, and thus connected closely with the supposed ancient organum.

We shall ourselves presently examine the work of Guilelmus Monachus, so far as it may be said to relate to our present subject, but meanwhile it may be pointed out that the effect of these various novel suppositions with regard to the origin and progress of English music, is to separate its development, from the very beginning, from that of the music of France and Italy, for instance, and to inculcate the belief that here, from the earliest times onwards to the period which we are now considering, music was never understood otherwise than as consisting in some form of *faulx bourdon*. It may be well therefore, before proceeding further, to subject these suppositions to a practical test, and to exhibit a few examples of English composition, popular in character of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; for if the views which we are now examining be correct, we ought to perceive the methods of *faulx bourdon*

[1] Printed by Coussemaker, *Script.* iii. 273.

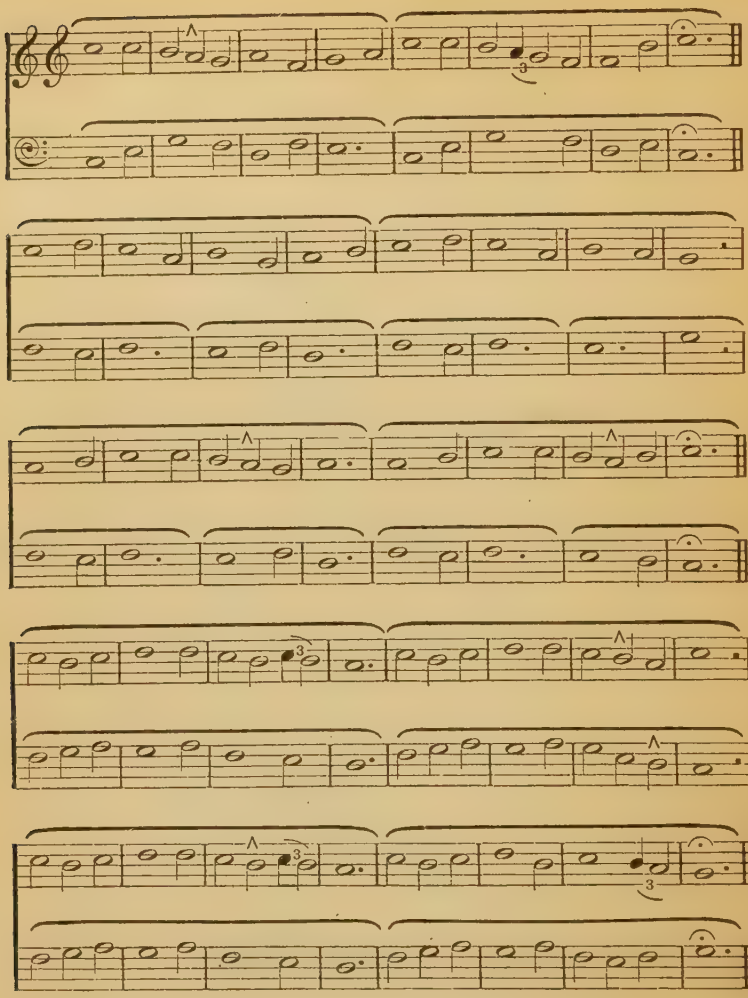
prevailing in all the specimens, both before and after the year 1340, the generally accepted date of its invention [1].

And first it may be said that in the earliest example of English secular music—*Sumer is icumen in* [2]—dating from about 1240, the characteristic elements of *faulx bourdon* are entirely wanting, and that there is no sign whatever of any knowledge of the existence of such a method on the part of the composer. The same may be said of another work of similar date, and existing indeed in the same MS.—Brit. Mus., Harl. 978. This is a curious composition, in two parts only, and without words, which might possibly be intended for instruments: it is divided into two movements, one containing six and the other nine strains, and each strain is divided again into two sections of eight perfect longs each, or their equivalent. It is full of repetition, which, though ingeniously arranged, must have exercised a somewhat soporific influence upon the hearers, unless dancing accompanied it, which may very well have been the case. Three strains, which constitute the first half of the first movement, will be sufficient to give an idea of this music, which also, it will be seen, would appear, as has been said, to have been written in ignorance of any method based upon parallelism of thirds and sixths, and in fact rather displays, as we have just seen in the case of *Sumer is icumen in*, characteristics directly opposed to those of *faulx bourdon*, namely, a constant use of perfect concords and of contrary movement.



[1] It is proper to mention here that, with the exception of *Sumer is icumen in*, practically no English composition of very early date had been published, in a translated form, when Dr. Adler and Prof. Riemann wrote upon this subject.

[2] See vol. i of present work, pp. 326–38.

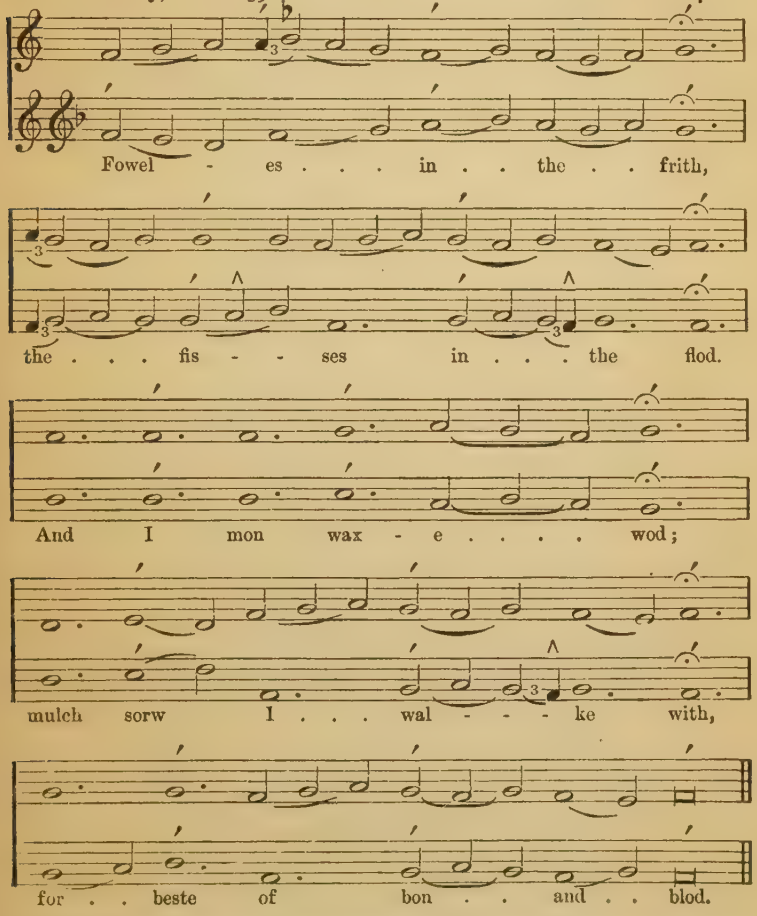


In our next example, however, the extremely interesting and original little two-part song, *Foweles in the Frith*, written probably about 1270, we find, if our translation is correct, at the end of the first section five sixths in direct succession, and at the end of the third section two more. This composition is remarkable throughout for the freedom of it's treatment, and for the evidence

that it displays of the writer's complete mastery of the limited resources of his time. Like *Sumer is icumen in*, though of course not in the same degree, the work expresses a musical thought, which has been so imagined as to reveal the existence of unsuspected possibilities in the hard material of the thirteenth-century forms.

FOWELES IN THE FRITH[1].

Bodleian Library, Douce 139. Circ. 1270.



[1] This has been reproduced, from the original, in *Early English Harmony*, and also, with a translation, in Sir John Stainer's *Early Bodleian Music*.

From this little specimen of independent imagination we pass to the somewhat mechanical style of composition shown in our example of simple *conductus* of about the year 1300, given from the Arundel MS. numbered 248, at p. 316 of the first volume of the present work; and from a reference to that example it will be seen that the contrary movement is there continuous and systematic, and affords no possible opportunity for the intrusion of parallel intervals. Another composition, of exactly the same kind —perhaps indeed by the author of the former one—occurs in the same MS. It contains many verses, with a fresh melody and discant for each verse of six lines; but as the methods are identical throughout, the first verse and the beginning of the second, only, are here given:

JESU CRISTES MILDE MODER.

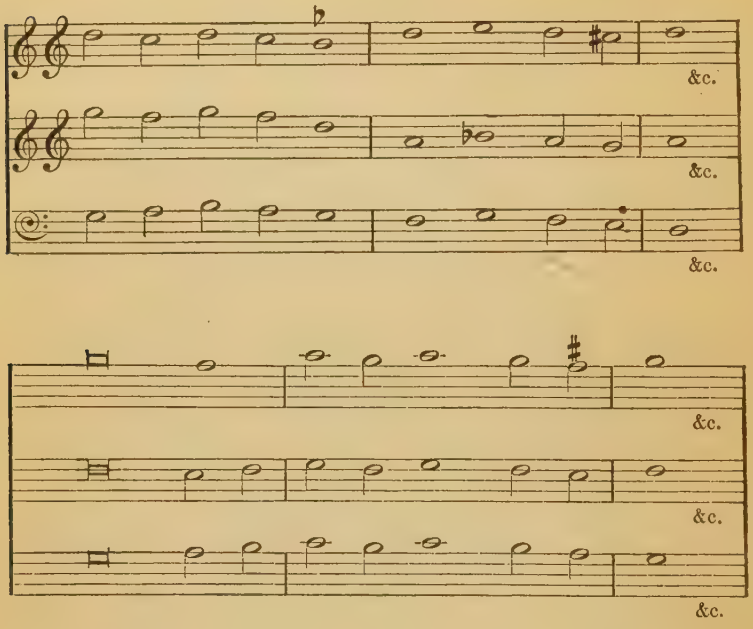
Brit. Mus., Arundel 248. Circ. 1300.

1. Je - su . . Cris - tes mild - e mo - der
The sone . . heng the mo - der stud, . .
stud bi - held hire son o rod - e . . .
and bi - held hire child - es blud . . . .
3
3
that he was i - pi - ned . . . on.
wu it of his wund - - es ran.
&c.
2. Tho he starf that king is . . of lif,

It would appear then that, with one possible exception, our representative examples of English music of a popular character composed before the generally accepted date of *faulx bourdon*, cannot be thought to reveal traces of any existing method of singing in parallel thirds and sixths. The method indeed which is employed in them is that which is indicated by the contemporary treatises, namely, contrary movement and a guarded use of the imperfect intervals, which are to be taken only occasionally in direct succesion. As regards our single exception, it may be explained perhaps by the free and experimental character of the composition itself; and remembering that sixths and thirds were, in 1270, newly admitted among the consonant intervals, we may perhaps see, in the appearance here of sixths in parallel movement, an attempt to employ these intervals in a new and interesting manner. But be this as it may, it is certain that, so far as the present writer has been able to discover, the two passages of consecutive sixths which appear in *Foweles in the Frith* stand absolutely alone in the English music of the period; and it is difficult to suppose that this could be the case if they were merely adopted from an existing traditional practice, of great popularity, and in common use.

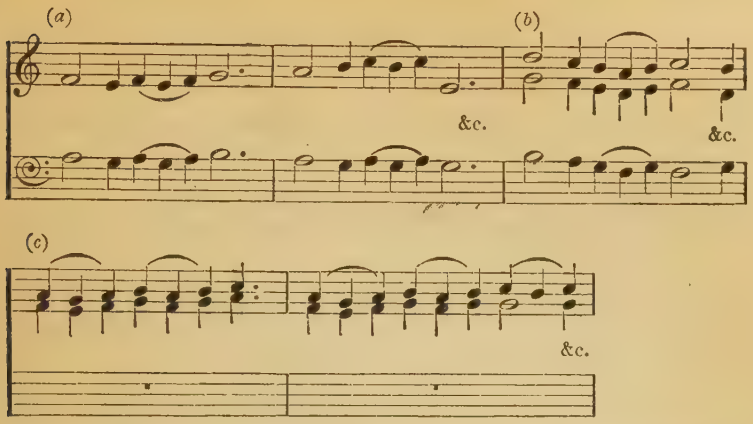
Examples of composition during the first half of the fourteenth century are unfortunately as rare, apparently, in England as in France and Italy, so that it is impossible to say exactly what methods may have prevailed in this country during the period which, as is generally supposed, saw the invention of *faulx bourdon* and its adaptation to the purposes of free composition. But examples of later date are to be found, and from these it would seem that towards the close of the century the characteristic progressions of *faulx bourdon* formed an accepted feature of the English method. They are used, moreover, with excellent judgement; not frequently, or as part of the ordinary conduct of the work, but as an embellishment, and confined, in the best examples at least, entirely to the closes; and here they create a great effect, and a quality of beauty not hitherto produced in

music. This appears clearly, for instance, in a motett, *Petrum Cephas ecclesie*—written during the last quarter of the century, and now in the Bodleian Library[1]—where the sentences sometimes conclude in the following manner:



In another motett also, *Deus creator omnium*, in the same MS., several interesting examples of parallel progression occur, and may be noted here. At (*a*), for instance, will be found consecutive sixths followed by consecutive tenths; a curious progression also, in which the counter-tenor part of *faulx bourdon* has been inverted in the upper octave, thus creating parallel fifths between the higher voices, is seen at (*b*); while at (*c*) is an instance—the first that we have as yet observed—of the device known as *gymel*, consisting of consecutive thirds, sung generally unaccompanied, as in the present case.

[1] MS. E. Mus. 7. Reproduced, with a translation, in *Early Bodleian Music*.



But perhaps the most interesting example that we possess of the appearance of the *faulx bourdon* methods, in the English music of this period, is supplied by a three-part setting of the famous hymn *Angelus ad Virginem*[1], composed quite at the end of the century. Here the contrast between the new processes, shown in all passages which approach a close, and the old methods still adopted in the rest of the work, is extremely striking. The hymn is here given, beginning upon the following page.

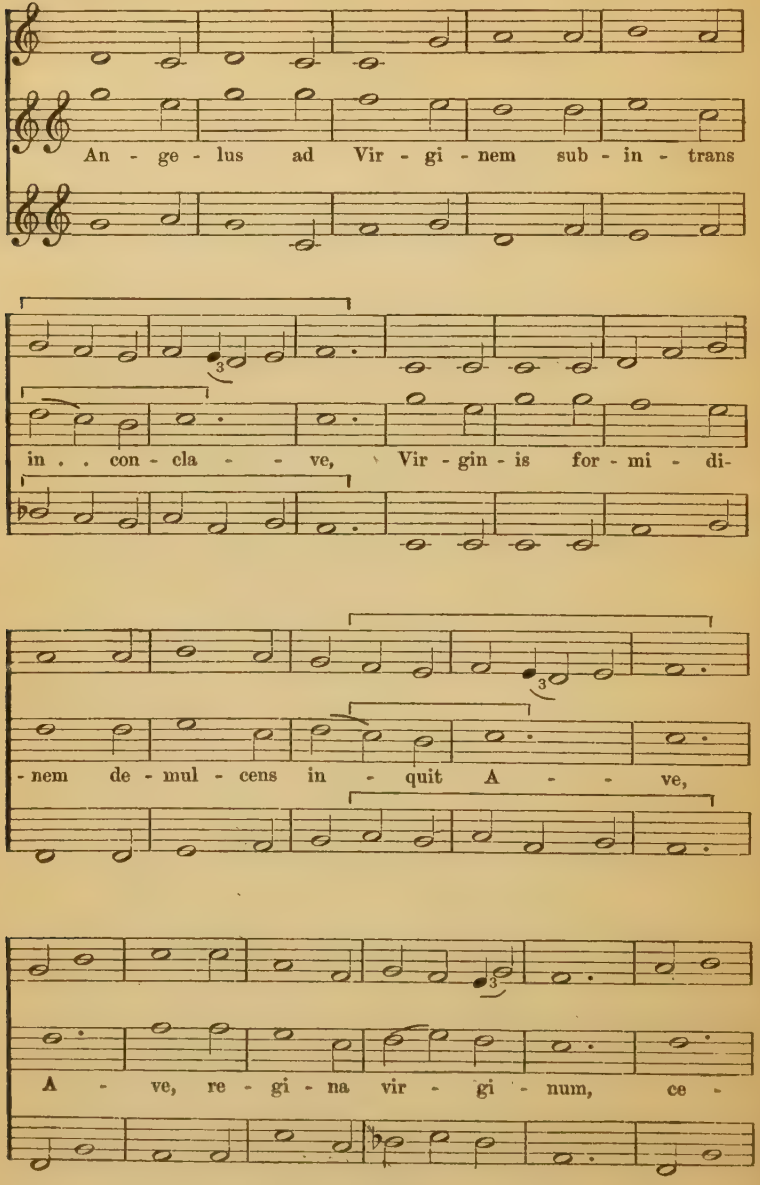
May we not now say that supposing our examples to be really representative, we are directed by the appearances towards a judgement unfavourable to the supposition of a specially English origin for the methods of *faulx bourdon*, considered as part of a traditional popular system existing from time immemorial in this country? Indeed, but for the parallel sixths in the little two-part song, *Foweles in the Frith*, we might declare our belief that the evidence is conclusive in this sense. And even allowing full importance to this exception, we may still say that the English, speaking generally, were, before the middle of the fourteenth century, as far from being aware of any such methods as the

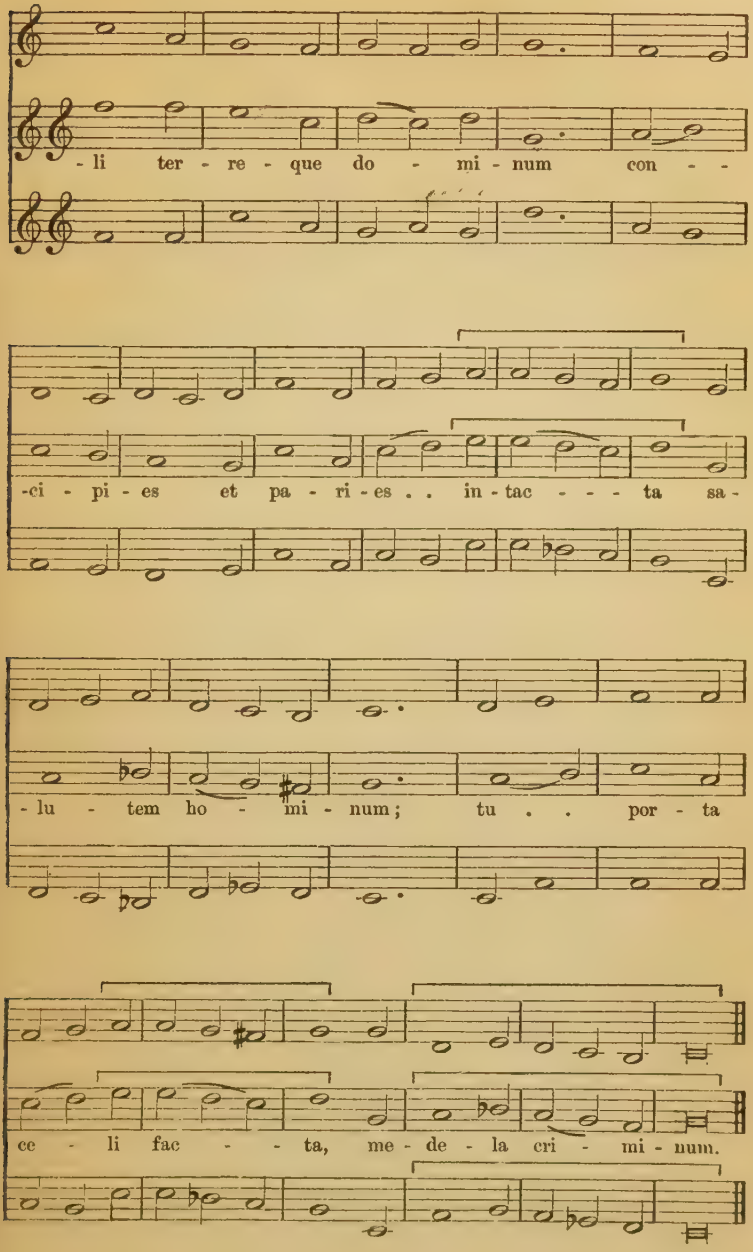
[1] The hymn has been rendered famous by Chaucer's reference to it in the *Miller's Tale*, where it is mentioned as forming part of the repertory of the Oxford scholar. The version of the tune given in this setting is inferior to that which occurs in the British Museum MS., Arundel 248, where it appears as a plain melody for one voice only.

Angelus ad Virginem.

Cambridge Univ. Library.
Add. MS. 710.

Late 14th Century.




-li ter - re - que do - mi - num con - -
-ci - pi - es et pa - ri - es . . in - tac - - - ta sa -
- lu - tem ho - mi - num; tu . . por - ta
ce - li fac - - - ta, me - de - la cri - mi - num.

French and Italians themselves, and that it is only as we approach the year 1400 that frequent passages of parallel thirds and sixths, appearing in all compositions, show that the musicians of this country had become acquainted with the device and were able to utilize it.

That the English were formerly, at all times, especially inclined towards sweetness and jocundity in music is undoubted; and although we may not hastily take away from the French singers of the fourteenth century the credit of the first systematic organizing in sixths and thirds, we may nevertheless suppose that while its inventors remained content to apply the method within the limits of its original purpose, the English, on the other hand, perceiving something of its possibilities, not only welcomed it with peculiar delight, but also rapidly reformed their general practice in order to include it.

The influence exercised by *faulx bourdon* upon composition in England, as it may be seen in the written music of the time, has been sufficiently demonstrated for the present in the examples just given; its effect upon the contemporary florid discant *supra librum*, which was even more remarkable, should now be considered.

And first, for purposes of comparison, we may give some account of the ordinary method of discant *supra librum*, common throughout Europe at this time.

The typical form implies three voices, tenor, contratenor, and supranus, but the actual number of singers was practically unlimited. The performers, few or many, having come together before the book containing the *cantus ecclesiasticus*, the tenor sounds the first note of the plainsong, and to this the contratenor replies with the fifth above, and the supranus with the octave; and thus is established for each his natural 'sight,' or distance from the plainsong. The tenor then proceeds with the plainsong, beating each note steadily as a breve; the contratenor, watching the plainsong and having regard also to the beat, accompanies in strict counterpoint—with perfect concords,

that is to say, in contrary movement almost entirely, and in breves, note against note with the tenor—keeping carefully within his range, which is from a fourth above to a fifth below his initial note, and ending at last, as he began, upon the fifth above the final note of the tenor. This process, it will be seen, is little more, so far, than a direct continuation of the old eleventh-century practice, and even the method employed by the upper voice, which extemporizes a florid song, must seem not unfamiliar to us; yet although in considering the apparently free course pursued by the supranus, we may be reminded of that which we perceived in the upper voice of *organum purum*, there is here in reality a great difference; the old freedom no longer prevails, and the part is now actually entirely controlled by the tenor, for the florid song in which it consists is but a breaking of the measured breve. In fact, the supranus, like the contra-tenor, watches the plainsong, and although within the breve he is free to display every variety of prolation, simple or syncopated, that he may be able to devise, his *cantus* is really founded, equally with that of the contratenor, upon successive notes of plain counterpoint. It is true that these are, in his part, practically lost in the wealth of their own ornamentation, yet it is with their sounds nevertheless that the portion of his florid song which is contained within the strict time of the breve must begin and end; in other words, the first and last of the notes contained in any 'bar' of the supranus must give the sound of the breve which he would have sung in plain counterpoint to the tenor; moreover, all prominent notes of the florid song, within the 'bar,' must be concordant to the tenor. The same principles governed the two-part discant, in which the floreation was employed in the upper part, and also that in four parts, where a voice was added in the twelfth above the tenor.

Such then being the method of discant extemporized *supra librum*, its adoption in principle throughout musical Europe, from the time of the recovery of the duple measure until the end of the sixteenth century, must always remain one of the

most curious and least explicable circumstances connected with the history of the art; for if we consider the fact that any number of singers could join in the performance, and also that in this kind of music the movement of the tenor can alone be foreseen, it is evident that although each of the voices may be entirely irreproachable throughout in its relation to the tenor, yet among themselves consecutive perfect intervals, or the discord arising from a fifth and sixth to the tenor taken simultaneously, may arise at any moment [1].

The first development, probably, of *faulx bourdon* in discant

[1] Thomas Morley, writing in 1597, says:—'As for singing upon a plainsong, it hath been in times past in England (as every man knoweth), and is at this day in other places, the greatest part of the usual music which in any churches is sung. Which indeed causeth me to marvel how men acquainted with music, can delight to hear such confusion as of force must be amongst so many singing extempore. But some have stood in an opinion which to me seemeth not very probable, that is, that men accustomed to discanting will sing together upon a plainsong, without singing either false chords or a forbidden discant one to another: which till I see I will ever think unpossible. For though they should all be most excellent men, and every one of their lessons by itself never so well framed for the ground, yet it is unpossible for them to be true one to another, except one man should cause all the rest to sing the same which he sung before them: and so indeed (if he have studied the Canon beforehand) they shall agree without errors: else shall they never do it.' *A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music*, London, 1597.

Morley, of course, treats the matter with a severity which could offend nobody, since this way of singing was in his time in England out of use; but from the manner in which the practice is referred to by Tinctoris, writing in 1477 among musicians with whom it was common, we may see not only that the *contrapunctus supra librum* was regarded by the learned with considerable indulgence, but also that certain methods existed, by means of which the singers were able to create an appearance of regularity. 'Counterpoint,' says Tinctoris, 'whether plain or florid, is of two kinds; written or mental. Written counterpoint is commonly called *res facta*, but that which is mentally composed we call *counterpoint* absolutely, and those who make it are said to sing *supra librum*. In one respect *res facta* differs very considerably from counterpoint; and that is, that in *res facta* all the parts, whether three or four or more, are mutually considerate, so that in every part the rules of the progression of the concords have to be observed towards each and all of the rest . . .But among two, or three, or more, singing *supra librum*, there is no mutual consideration, and it is thought to be enough if each obey the rules of consonance with respect to the tenor alone; yet I hold it not blameworthy, but rather a thing to be commended, if the singers should contrive to give an appearance of rightly taking the concords among themselves; for in this way they may render their performance much fuller and sweeter in effect.' *De Arte Contrapuncti*; *Cousse. Script.* iv. 129–30.

supra librum, is to be seen in a simple alteration of the upper or florid part in the method just described, consisting in the substitution of imperfect for perfect consonances with the tenor. An account of this early method is given by the English theorist Simon Tunstede, in his treatise *Quatuor Principalia* [1], which dates from the close of the fourteenth century. His description is as follows:—'There is another way of discanting which indeed, if it be well carried out, will seem to the hearer exceedingly recondite, while in fact it is the least difficult of all. For in this method many will appear to be discanting upon the plainsong, when in truth one only will discant, the rest meanwhile singing the plainsong itself in different concords, in the following manner. Let there be brought together four or five men expert in singing, and let the first begin the plainsong in the tenor; let the second settle his voice in the fifth above, the third in the octave, and the fourth, if there be a fourth, in the twelfth. Then all, being fixed in their respective situations, will continue with the plainsong, but all except the tenor should break and flower the notes, as may be most convenient, carefully preserving the measure. But let him who is to discant,'—we may perhaps suppose a fifth and highest voice,—'avoid as much as possible the perfect concords, keeping his part in the imperfect intervals, that is to say in thirds, sixths, and tenths above the tenor; and with these let him discourse, ascending and descending, according as it may seem to him expedient and most agreeable to the hearer. Thus one man, expert in discant and having a well-trained voice, may, with others of equal aptitude, make great melody.'

The value of this account in our present point of view consists in its record of the admission, in England, before the year 1400, of a free or broken *faulx bourdon* into the old system of extempore discant; but the innovation has no effect in reducing the objections urged against the original method; indeed, it now itself constantly creates the discord of the sixth and fifth with

[1] *Cousse. Script.* iv. 200.

the voice immediately above the tenor, while the general danger of consecutive perfect intervals is also, from the breaking and floreating of all notes except the tenor, even greater than before.

In the more fully developed English method of free *faulx bourdon*, however, described by another writer of considerable importance—Guilelmus Monachus—in which, for perfect concords and contrary movement in the counterpoint and imperfect concords in the discant, are substituted imperfect concords in similar movement with the tenor in all the parts, these errors and possibilities of error are avoided. And this will appear from the examples contained in the treatise of the author just mentioned, presently to be given.

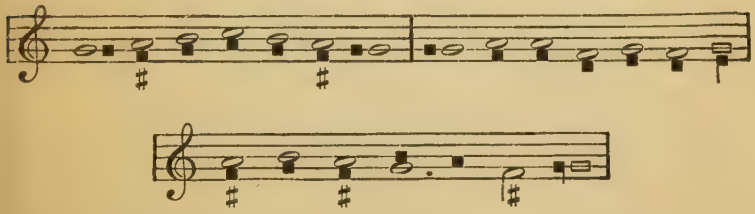
Guilelmus Monachus, whose only known work, now to be considered, is in the *Biblioteca Marciana* at Venice, was in all probability an Englishman resident among Italians, for whose information, we may suppose, he included in his treatise a special account of the English practice of discanting extempore in *faulx bourdon*[1]. And we arrive at this conclusion from a consideration of those very words of the author himself which led M. de Coussemaker to suppose that he was an Italian. Guilelmus, in entering, in the chapter *De Regule Contrapuncti Anglicorum*, upon his account of the specially English discant, gives first the plain *faulx bourdon* in sixths and thirds, as we have already shown it (p. 94), together with the plain *gymel* or two-part variety in thirds alone, and short rules for both, and then continues—'But the method of this *faulx bourdon* could be taken among us in other ways,' &c.[2];—and in this manner he introduces his numerous and valuable examples of that broken ornate counterpoint in imperfect concords and similar movement of which we have in fact no other complete account. Unless

[1] There is nothing improbable in this supposition. The great contemporary English theorist, John Hothby, was about this time a member of the Carmelite brotherhood at Ferrara.

[2] 'Modus autem istius *faulx bourdon* aliter posset assumi *apud nos*,' &c. *Cousse. Script.* iii. 292.

therefore we are to suppose that the author's description of the English practice is confined to the plain forms of *faulx bourdon* and *gymel*, and that the extension of these methods is Italian —which we have no reason for believing—the words 'among us' must refer to the English musicians, of whom Guilelmus thus declares himself to be one, rather than to the Italians among whom he was presumably residing.

Passing to the examples themselves, we may leave aside that of *faulx bourdon*, already given, and proceed to exhibit shortly the method of *gymel*. Of this, indeed, we have also already seen a small passage in a recent illustration (p. 105), but we may now give the example offered by Guilelmus, from which we see that the crossing of parts is included in the process, for the sake of variety:



If we may judge from the relatively infrequent mention of this form in the treatise of Guilelmus, and the absolute silence respecting it in every other work, it would appear that *gymel* was of small importance as compared with *faulx bourdon*. Yet it was probably derived from the more celebrated method, for *gymel*, in fact, is but *faulx bourdon*, as written, with the upper fifth, or contratenor note, left out; and this, and the fact that it could be so sung, without inversion, may perhaps be accepted as evidence of its comparatively later date; for both its renunciation of the fifth—the note which gave to the original method of *faulx bourdon*, when written, the appearance of an orthodox organum—and the fact that the remaining thirds though capable of inversion could also be sung without it, would seem to indicate that at the time of its invention the necessity for dissimulation

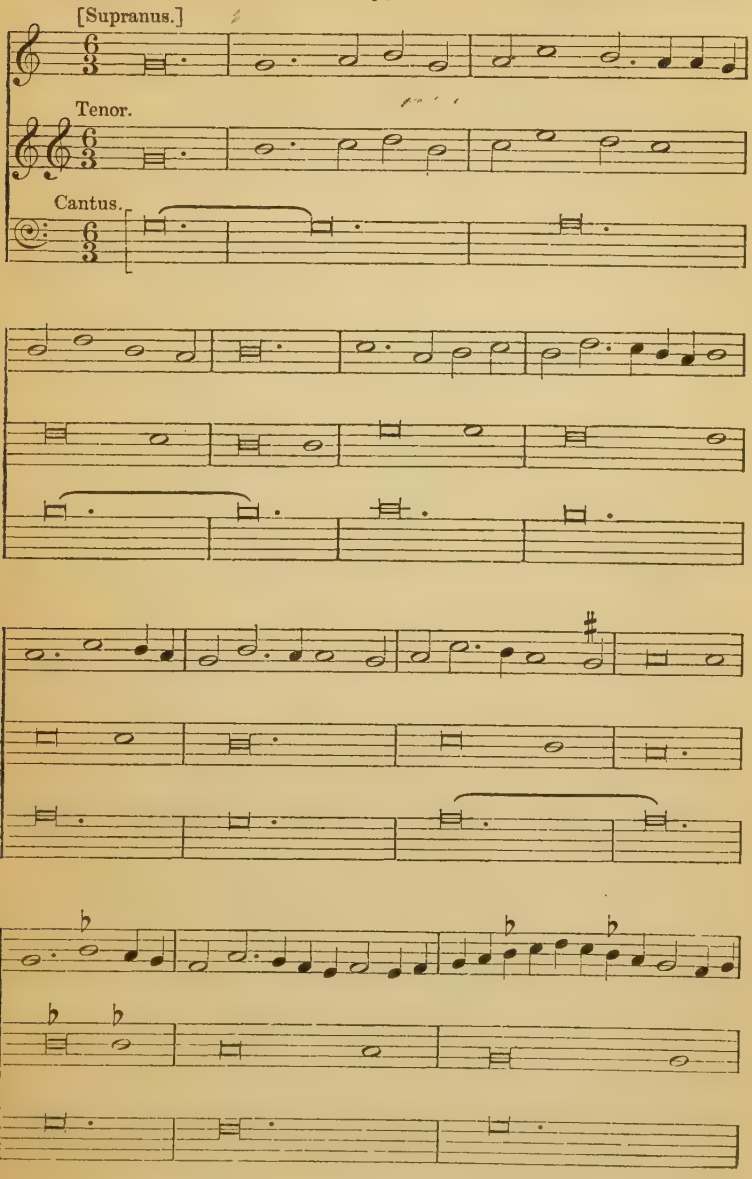
was already past. In the particular kind of *faulx bourdon*, on the other hand, which was contemporary with *gymel*, we find that although the fifth had also, and probably for the same reasons, been entirely abolished, the original process of inversion was still by common consent superstitiously continued in the production of the sixths, which now alone constituted the plain *faulx bourdon*. With respect to the proper method of producing these, however, opinions were divided; Guilelmus recommending apparently the transposition of the plainsong to the octave above, as in our illustration A (2), while his contemporary, Leonel Power—whose little vernacular treatise in the British Museum MSS., *Lansdowne* 763, has been printed by Sir John Hawkins in his *History*, and by Prof. Riemann, and also by others—prefers the transposition of the part above the plainsong to the octave below, as in B (2).

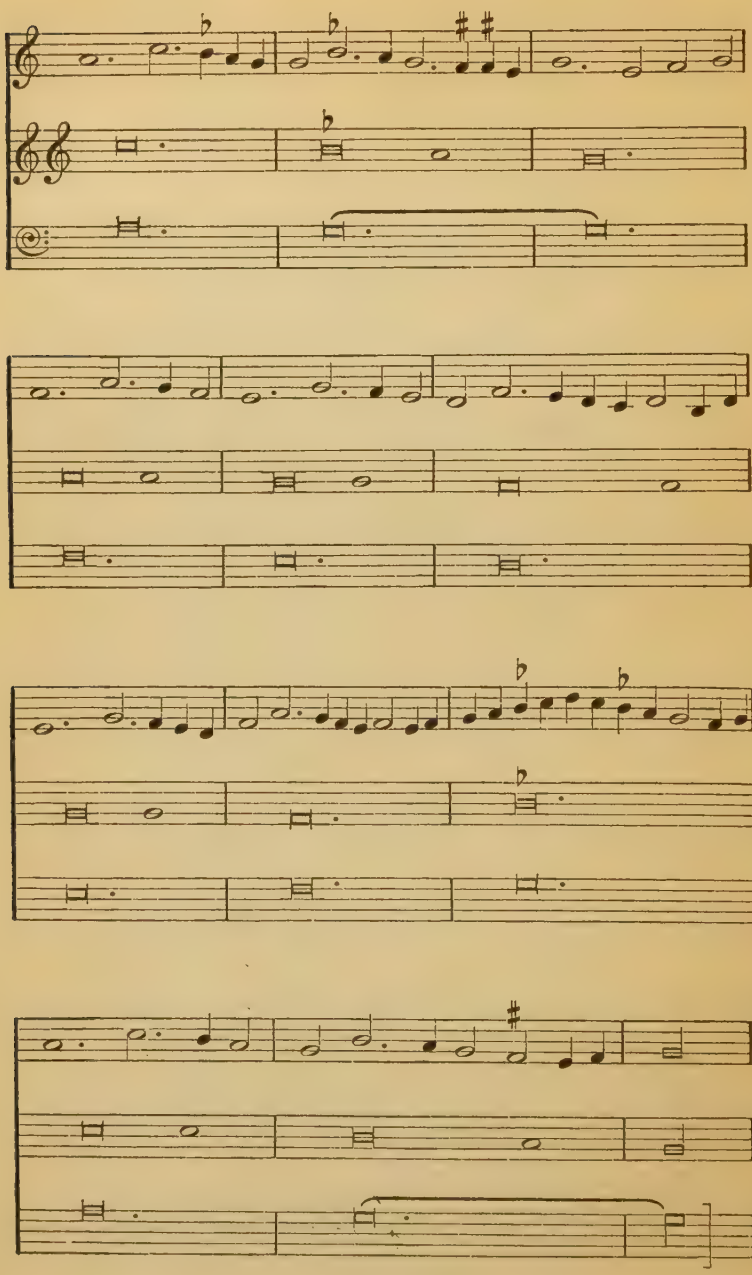
The thirds could be sung either as written (*Gymel*), 1, or transposed (*Faulx bourdon*), 2.

The former of these simple methods, A (2), supplies the framework of the first example of the broken or ornate discant given by Guilelmus, which here follows:

Faulx Bourdon.

Coussemaker, *Scriptores*, &c., vol. iii. 293. Guilelmus Monachus.





In this example *gymel* is represented by the middle and lower parts, and its inversion, *faulx bourdon*, by the upper and middle parts. The plainsong is shown both as simple in the lower part, and as transposed and freely broken in the supranus. In the latter situation, it is true, it is almost obliterated by the ornate method of treatment, but it may still be traced with certainty, nevertheless, in the first note of each bar of the florid song, which is always in the octave with the corresponding long note of the lower part. The middle or tenor part is only broken in minims in two bars; its general mode of progression is by a breve followed by a semibreve in each bar, both as a rule in thirds with the plainsong, though the semibreve is occasionally free, as, for instance, in passing to unison with the plainsong in a close. It should, however, be said that considerable doubt exists with respect to the intention of the author in his presentation of the *cantus* in its unbroken form, in this and other examples; and if, as some suppose, it is not intended for singing in this shape, but only as a guide to the reader, then the present example is nothing more than an ornate *faulx bourdon* of the later kind—that is to say, without the contratenor part.

The meagre effect of this, however, as compared with the original form of *faulx bourdon*, in which the contratenor proceeded throughout in the fourth below the supranus, probably suggested the desire for some enrichment of the method; and this object was attained, apparently, not as we might perhaps have supposed by a reinstatement of the old contratenor, which seems to have been henceforward excluded entirely from the English *faulx bourdon*, but by setting a new part in the old range of the written supranus, that is to say, a third below the tenor, in the situation in fact occupied by the unbroken *cantus* in our example. But a certain difficulty attended the introduction of any parallel voice in this place, the difficulty which in fact gives rise to the objection of those who consider the unbroken *cantus* as not intended to be sung—namely, that its practical effect is the creation of forbidden intervals either with the tenor

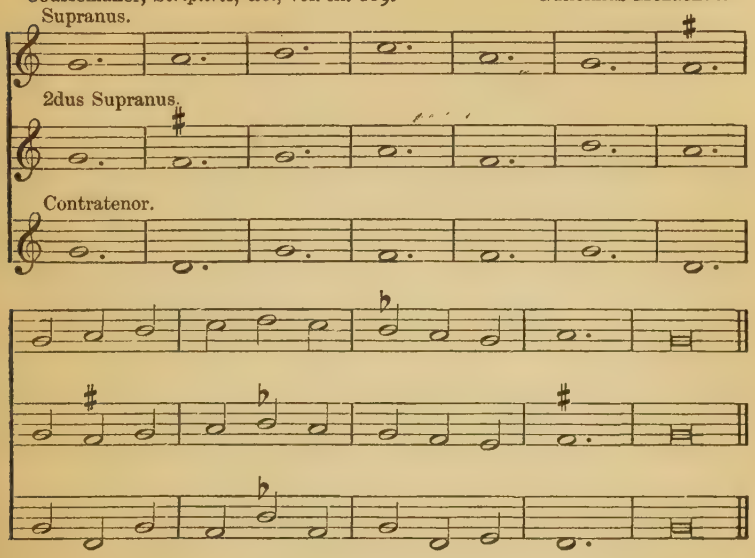
or with the vital notes of the highest voice; probably therefore, in order to avoid this result, a device was adopted, which though simple enough in itself, contains nevertheless the obvious suggestion of an important principle, more perhaps than any other contributing to the formation of modern music—the harmonic bass. The author's instructions are as follows:—'The fourth rule (*contrapuncti Anglicorum*) is that if the *faulx bourdon* make its supranus with sixths and octaves to the tenor, you may make a *contratenor bassus* descending beneath the tenor with fifths and thirds; so contriving that always the penultimate note be a fifth below the tenor—that is to say, a tenth below the supranus—and the antepenultimate a third below the tenor; and so repeating and continuing with lower fifths and lower thirds, taking care that the first and last notes be an octave or unison to the tenor.' The same principle can also, he says, be applied in the enrichment of *gymel*.

In discanting upon a tenor not entirely conjunct it was not, of course, always possible to carry this system of alternate thirds and fifths in the lowest voice strictly through the whole of a performance, and from the following examples of its application we may gain some idea with respect to the various degrees of liberty allowed in difficult situations.

Gymel.

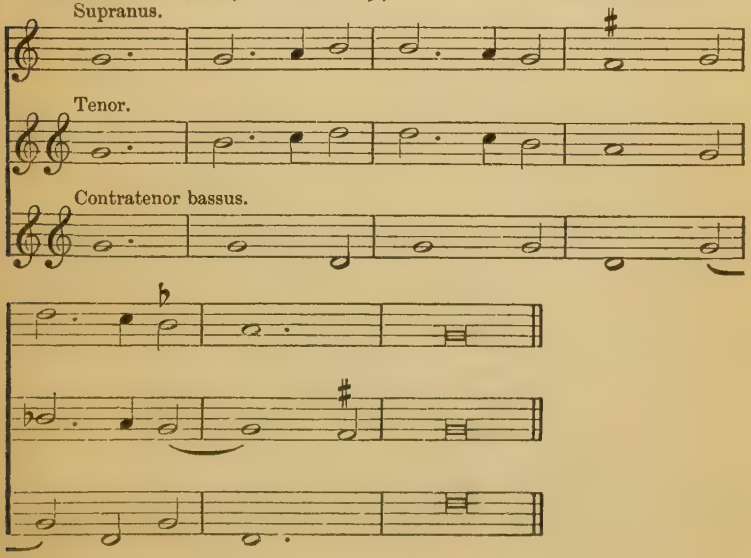
Tribus Vocibus non mutatis.

Coussemaker, *Scriptores*, &c., vol. iii. 289. Guilelmus Monachus.



Faulx Bourdon.

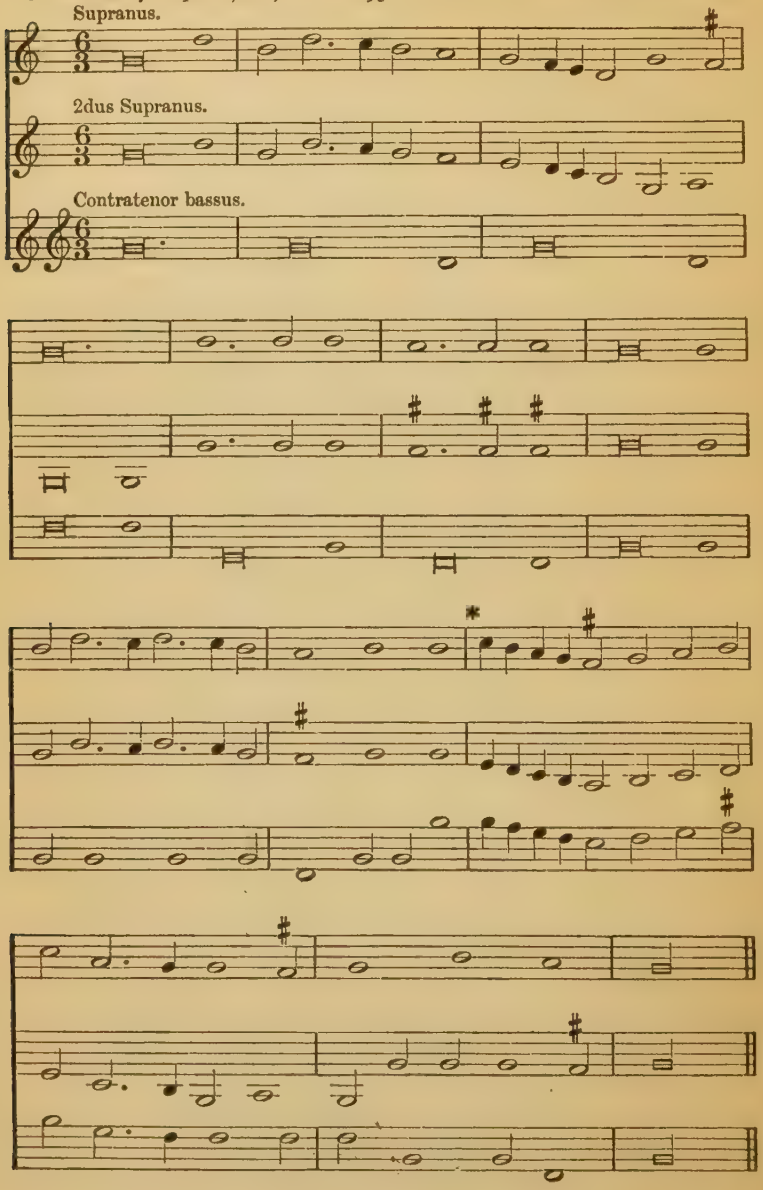
Coussemaker, *Scriptores*, &c., vol. iii. 294. Guilelmus Monachus.



Gymel.

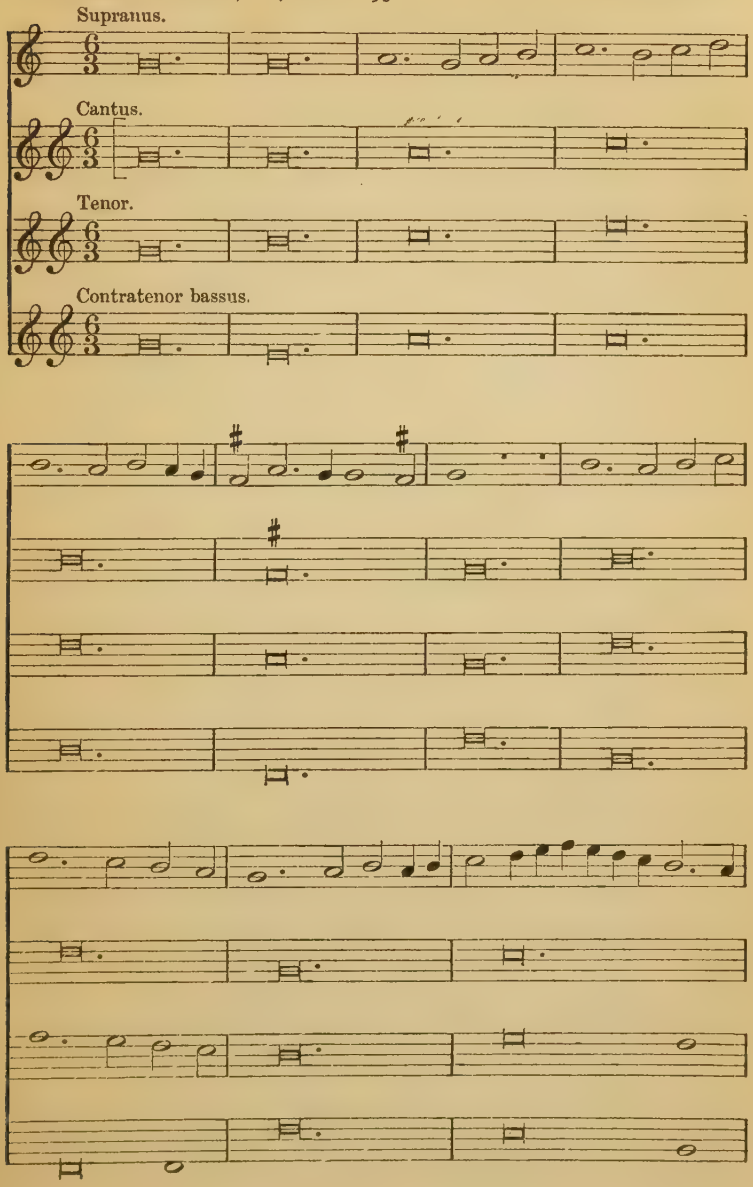
*With inverted passage *, returning at the close.*

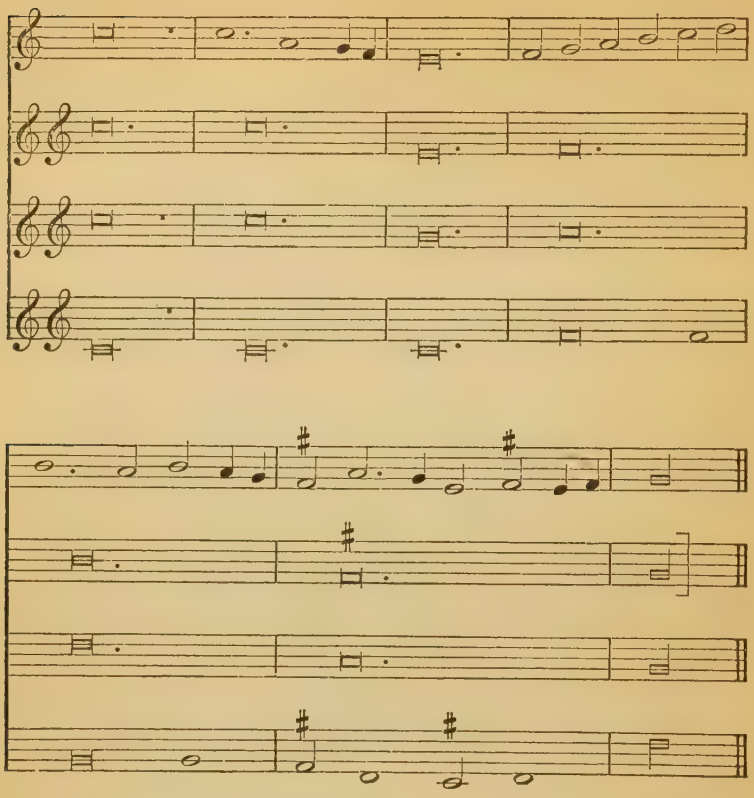
Coussemaker, *Scriptores*, &c., vol. iii. 295. Guilelmus Monachus.



Faulx Bourdon.

Coussemaker, *Scriptores*, &c., vol. iii. 295. Guilelmus Monachus.



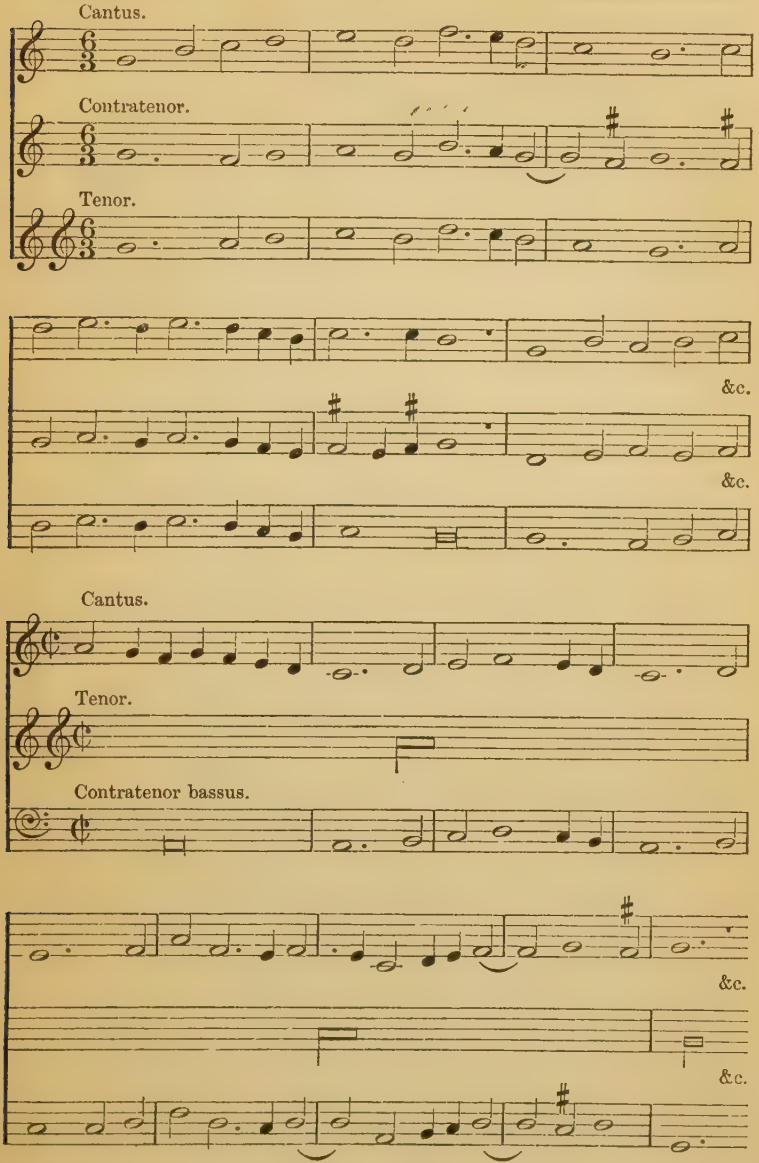


We may also glance for a moment at two short examples given by Guilelmus in concluding a series in which he may be thought to have exhausted the possibilities of *faulx bourdon*. The first is a complete specimen of a kind which we have already seen in a short passage (p. 105), in which the cantus, in the upper voice, is written a tenth above the tenor, and the contratenor a fifth below the cantus, all moving in a parallel course throughout; and by this means a very curious effect, not altogether disagreeable, is produced. In the second example a contratenor bassus proceeds in tenths below the cantus throughout until the close, the middle part being a tenor, holding long notes.

Gymel Form.

(In Tenths.)

Coussemaker, *Scriptores*, &c., vol. iii. 297. Guilelmus Monachus.



It is evident that the historical importance of this treatise is considerable, but unfortunately the uncertainty which exists at present with respect to its date renders impossible any definite estimate of its value. It is interesting, for instance, to know from this work that an elaborate treatment of *faulx bourdon* once prevailed in this country, but the information would gain in value from an exact statement with respect to the period during which the method was cultivated; and the date of the MS., if it could be discovered, would direct us to this. It should, however, be said that the year 1400, or thereabouts, has been suggested by M. de Coussemaker, and this date, if it could be proved correct, would not be unsuitable to our own impressions with regard to the period of the greatest popularity of the florid *faulx bourdon*[1]; moreover, in another respect it would confer great distinction upon the MS., which might then be said to contain certainly the first hint of the remarkable invention of a voice below the tenor, moving with it in alternate thirds and fifths, an invention which not only from the first contributed to the establishment of the idea of harmonic propriety as the result of contrapuntal progression, but also, gradually taking shape as a true bass, finally opened the way beyond question to Harmony itself.

Only one other original account of English *faulx bourdon* is known to exist. This, which we have already mentioned in passing, is to be found in a small compendium of the method, forming part of a MS., now in the British Museum, and marked *Lansdowne* 763, which formerly belonged to Tallis, and afterwards to Morley. The treatises in this MS. are so arranged that it is difficult to say whether the authorship of the account of *faulx bourdon* should be ascribed to one Chilston or to the better known Leonel Power; in either case, however, the date

[1] Valintinelli, in his work on the MSS. of the *Marciana*, gives a merely general date for this Codex—'Saec. XV,' but Mr. Horatio Brown, of Venice, who has kindly examined it at the request of the present writer, is more explicit, pronouncing it to be of the first half of the century, or certainly not later than 1460.

would be the same, that is, about 1430. It is, perhaps, not necessary to describe this account fully, since it has been already more than once printed entire, but it may be said that the *faulx bourdon* which the author indicates is to be written or imagined a third above the plainsong, and transposed, in performance, an octave lower, or in other words to a sixth below the plainsong; the voices are to take perfect concords at the beginning and end of sentences, and are to break a few notes in syncopation in closing. This is practically all. The author makes no reference to the methods of Guilelmus, nor indeed to any means of further enrichment or variety, and does not even mention *gymel* by its name. How are we to account for this silence? Scarcely upon the ground of ignorance, for if the rules described in the work of Guilelmus are, as we have supposed, representative of actual English methods of singing *supra librum*, and are not the imaginations of an individual, they must have been well known to the author of the compendium. The extreme brevity of the little work may perhaps be thought to explain its omissions; or, on the other hand, it may be that the popularity of *faulx bourdon* was already at this time waning, and that discantors, having exhausted its capabilities as a musical means, were now passing from it, and meanwhile employing only its most restricted forms. That it was entirely neglected and forsaken in this country long before 1600 is certain, for Morley refers to it as to a thing belonging altogether to the past, and his short account of it is evidently taken directly from this MS., then probably in his possession.

CHAPTER II

FORMATION OF SCHOOLS

ENGLAND

The earliest rise of an English School of composition, properly so called, may be traced probably to the first quarter of the fifteenth century. The specimens of earlier date which we have examined occur in scattered MSS., and are themselves few in number, isolated, and nameless, affording no suggestion of any close association of workers, or of that busy emulous activity of individuals united in promoting the gradual evolution of a common ideal, which constitute the life and progress of a school. But at the period at which we have now arrived, we become aware of collections of compositions, suggesting from their number, similarity, and relative importance, the work of a true school. We also obtain glimpses of the school itself, which is partly seen as existing through the influence and technical ability of one man, and partly also as belonging to a class which arose from the institution of Royal and princely 'Chapels,' musical establishments created in imitation of the Papal choir, which were now beginning to be formed in all the principal courts of Europe.

The benefits to the art which were derived from the existence of these privileged bodies of musicians were fully recognized in their own day. Indeed, Johannes Tinctoris, the Flemish theorist, writing in 1477, attributes all the great improvements apparent in music in his time directly or indirectly to the institution of Chapels, since, as he says, the advantages connected with the position of a singer in a Chapel Royal—the honour and glory, and the liberal emoluments—were such as caused this distinction to

be much sought after, 'so that many able men were stirred up to a closer study of the art, in order both to obtain an appointment and to do well in it. Whence,' he adds, 'it comes that in the present age the science of our music has received so wonderful an enlargement that it might seem to be a new art.' From this it would seem that the ordinary Colleges of singers attached to Cathedrals, often poorly paid and subject to clerical influence, could not be compared, in respect of musical impulse and originality, with the Royal Chapels, which formed part of the King's household establishment and were answerable to the sovereign alone; and indeed it is easy to see that these associations of carefully chosen workers, recognized as authorities, invited to provide the music which they were themselves to sing, stimulated in composition by the hope not only of Royal commendation and reward but also of public recognition and approval, must have been in all cases wonderful centres of artistic progress, hotbeds of composition, daily putting forth finer and still finer productions.

The principal sources from which contemporary examples of English fifteenth-century music may be obtained are three in number. The first is a volume forming part of the Selden collection of MSS. in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, containing fifty-three examples of the work of the period, composed probably between 1415 and 1455; the second is a large choir-book containing one hundred and thirty-eight compositions, dating from about 1430 to 1480, now in the library of St. Edmund's (Catholic) College, at Old Hall, near Ware, in Hertfordshire; the third is to be found in certain MSS. at Vienna (formerly at Trient), Modena, and Bologna, in which are preserved some English productions of this time, in character not altogether unlike those in the Old Hall MSS., but containing also important differences. Besides these, the Douce and Ashmole collections in the Bodleian, and a volume in the Cambridge University Library containing a mutilated Mass, afford examples which also are deserving of attention.

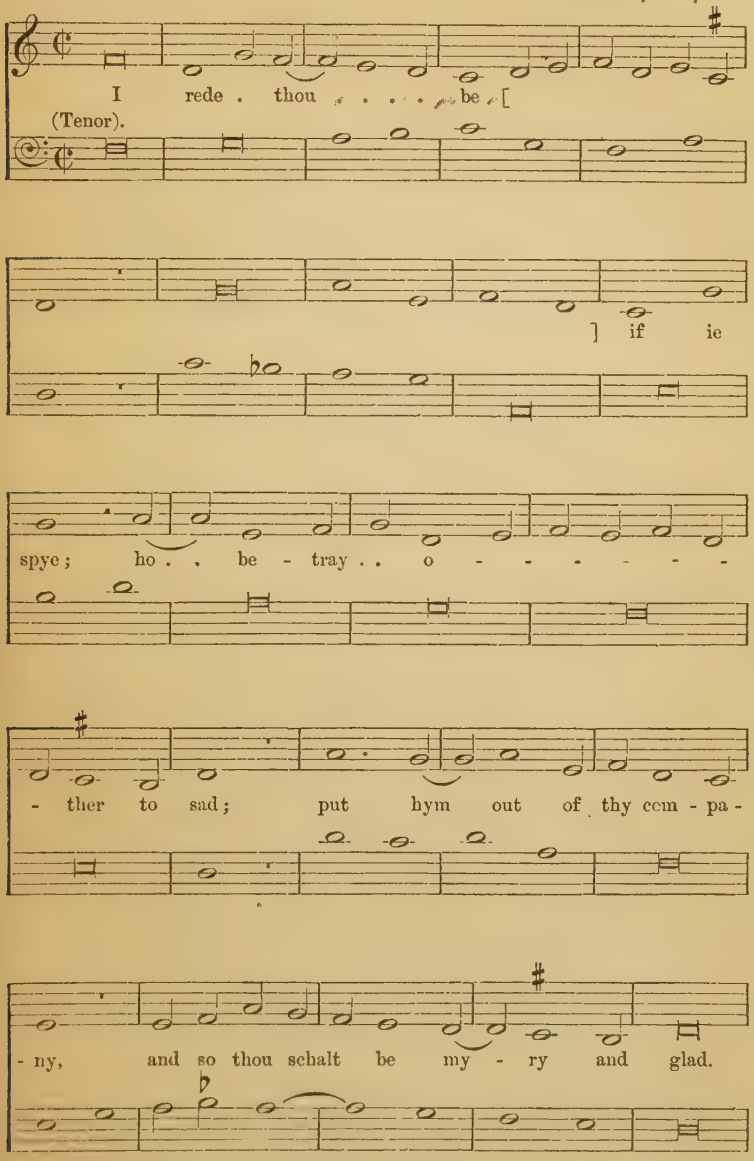
The examples in the Douce and Ashmole MSS. being some-

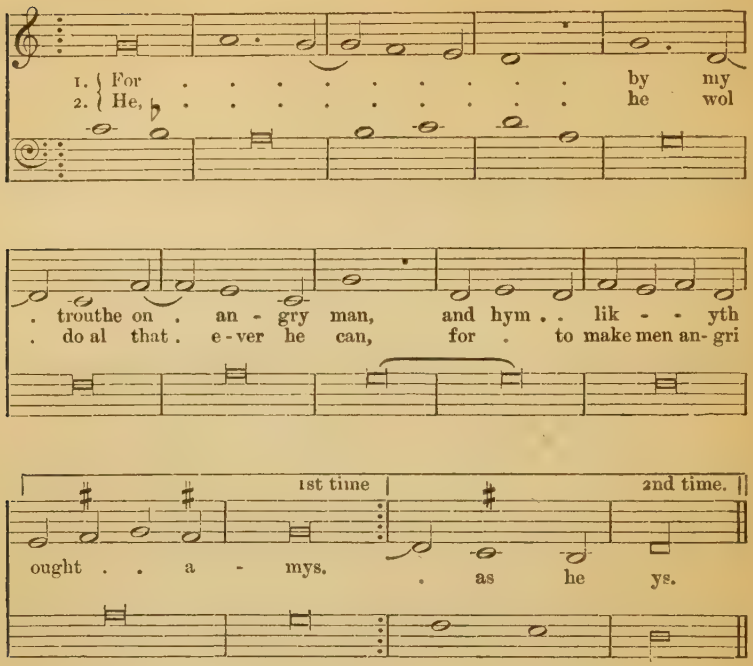
what earlier in date than those of the larger collections, we may refer to them now before passing on. They are of considerable interest, since they exhibit, besides examples of the current form, traces of two distinct methods, inherited from the previous century, neither of which was destined to survive in the form in which we here see them. One is the French method which was illustrated in some of our examples of Machault's secular work, which consists in a repetition of part of the music to a fresh text, with an *ouvert* for the first time and a *clos* at the end of the second. In the Douce MS. 381, are three examples of this shortened *Ballade* form—*Ie have so longe kepe schepe, My cares comen ever anew*, and *I rede thou be*; the last of these is here given, as an example of a certain kind of French influence, not difficult to understand, which seems to have been exerted upon English music for a time, but which was clearly not great or extensive, since no other examples of it apart from these three are known to exist. The second method is that of a continuous *faulx bourdon*, a mode of treatment which, notwithstanding its popularity as a form of extempore discant, was never, as we shall see, tolerated in serious composition. In *Ecce quod Natura*, however—our example from the early Ashmole MS.—it prevails throughout.

Since we shall not return to these MSS., a little song (*Alas departynge*), which illustrates very effectively the current method of two-part writing before the middle of the century, may be given now from Ashmole, 191. Here we perceive at once the evidence of a considerable advance. Both parts are perfectly melodious and delightful to sing, yet the kind of melody employed is distinctly contrapuntal and polyphonic in character, containing many phrases, in both parts, which will be found still in use by the treble and tenor voices in some of the best compositions of the following century. The composer has been liberal in his use of thirds and sixths, yet with judgement, so that the ear is charmed, not satiated as in the previous example.

I REDE THOU BE.

Bodl. Lib.
MSS. Douce, 381, fol. 22v. About 1400–1420.



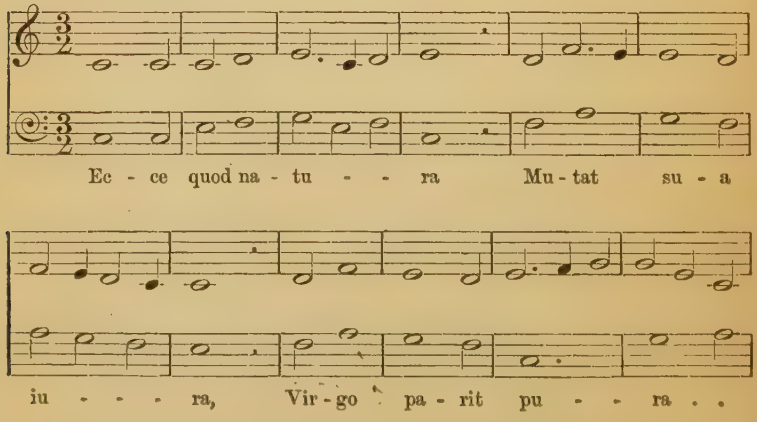

1. For . . . . . by my
2. He, ... he wol
. trouthe on . an - gry man, and hym . . lik - - yth
. do al that . e - ver he can, for . to make men an - gri
1st time
2nd time.
ought . . a - mys.
. as he ys.

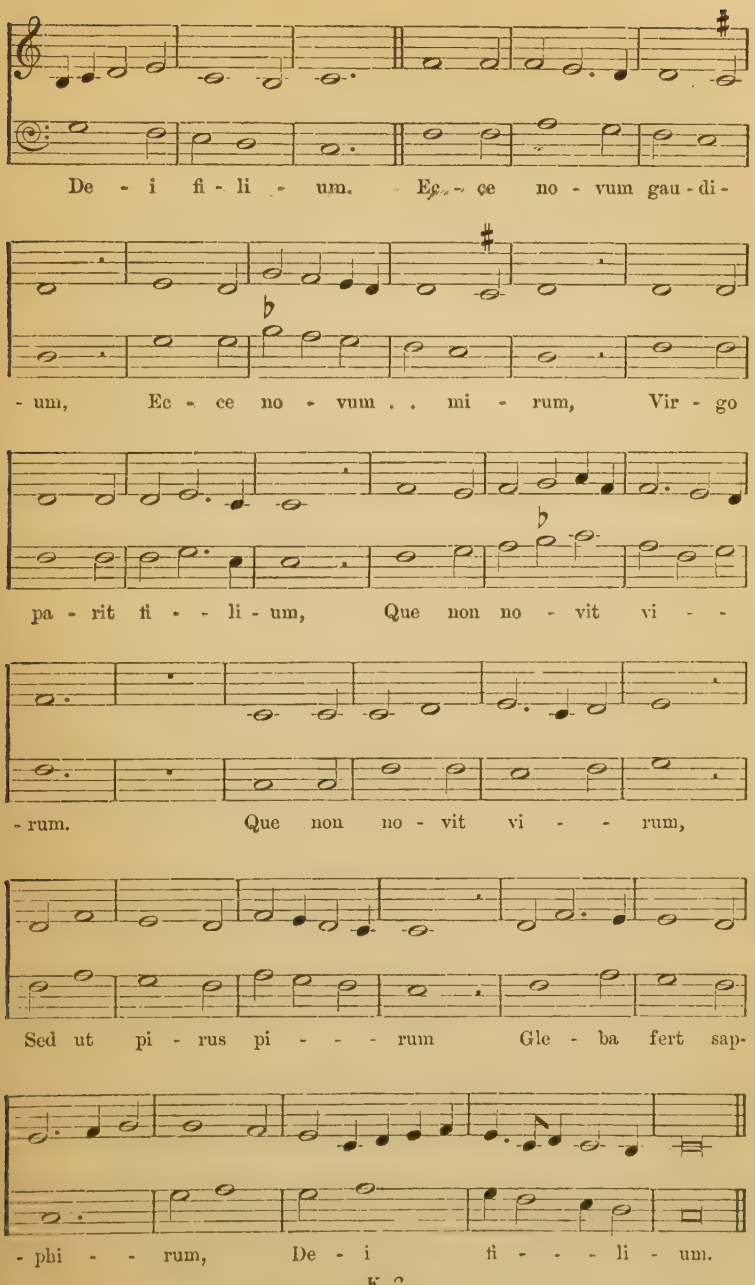
Ecce quod Natura.

(Carol, chiefly 'faulx bourdon.')

Bodl. Lib.
MSS. Ashmole, 1393, fol. 69.

About 1425.




De - i fi - li - um. Ec - ce no - vum gau - di -
- um, Ec - ce no - vum . . mi - rum, Vir - go
pa - rit fi - - li - um, Que non no - vit vi - -
- rum. Que non no - vit vi - - rum,
Sed ut pi - rus pi - - - rum Gle - ba fert sap -
- phi - - rum, De - i fi - - - li - um.

Alas departynge.

Song for two voices.

Bodl. Lib.
MSS. Ashmole, 191, fol. 194–5. About 1445.

A - las de - partynge is ground of . . .
A - las de - par - tynge is ground of
woo, o - dyr songe can y not . . . . . .
woo, . . o - dyr songe can y not . . . . . .
synge; . . but why part . . y my la - - dy
synge; but why part y my la - - - - - dy
fro, sith love . . was . . . caus . of our . me - -
fro, . . sith love was caus . . . of our me - -
-tyng. The bit - ter ter - ys . . of hire we - - -
- tyng. . . The bit - ter ter - ys of . . hire we - -

- pyng, myne hert hathe per - is - shid so mor - ta -
- pyng, myne hert hathe per - is - shid so mor - ta -
- ly, that to the dethe hit wil . . . me . . . . . .
- ly, that to the dethe hit . . wil . . . me . . . .
brynge, but yf y se hire has - ti - ly - - - - - y
brynge, but yf y se hire has - ti - ly - - - - - -
- - - - - y - - y - - - y . . .
- - y - - - y - - - y . . .

The music contained in the Selden MS. is miscellaneous in character. The greater part of the volume consists of sacred songs in two parts, chiefly relating to the Saviour's nativity, of a kind already familiar to us from our former examples, *Quene of Evene, Jhesu Cristes milde moder*, and others already given in the present work. In these songs the bold and facile style of the text affords excellent opportunities for the display of the characteristic English qualities in the music, and we recognize at once the great gifts of metrical melody, and the energetic yet suave expression, which have distinguished our

native composers at all times. The rest of the MS. is composed of works of higher technical aim—such, for instance, as the interesting *Deo Gracias Anglia*, or celebration of the victory of Agincourt, for two solo voices and three-part chorus;—and we find also copies of a few works of still greater musical importance, existing in other collections, given here without the composers' names; indeed, with one exception, names are withheld throughout the volume. It should also be said that the collection includes two secular pieces of some value. One is a song in praise of agriculture; the other is a drinking song, *Tappster, Dryngker*, in a style somewhat suggestive of the later 'Catch,' in which the personages would seem to be farmers met together upon a market day. Of these two pieces there is little to be said, except that they are in no way inferior technically to the sacred pieces. They are, however, the work of composers who were still apparently content with the old bareness of sound, which sometimes, indeed, occurs in a most strident manner when, as it would seem, there could be no possible necessity for its appearance. An instance of this may be found at the words 'Avale the stake,' in the drinking song.

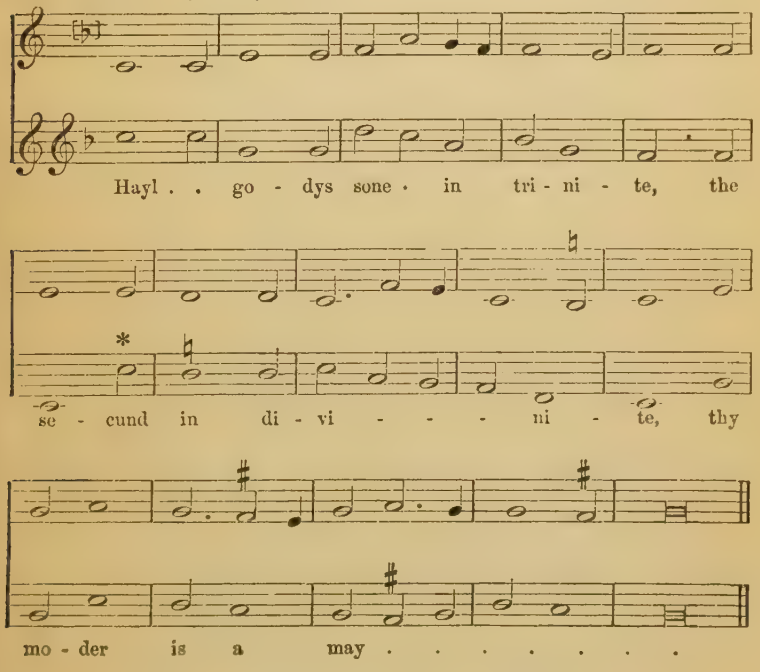
Of the examples given here the first is a two-part sacred song relating to the Nativity, dating probably from the second quarter of the century, which contains excellent melody in both parts, and some striking passages, such as the tenor cadence at the words 'our Lady with childe,' from which one of the finest of the later cadences would seem to be derived; the effect, however, of the two parts together is not quite satisfactory throughout.

In the *Deo Gracias*, which next follows, the melody is quite admirable, and again we find the discant also pleasing in itself; but again, also, the combination is often unsatisfactory, producing, as usual at this time, sometimes bare harmony, and sometimes aimless and arbitrary discord like that of Machault and the Italians. Moreover, the application of the rules of *Musica Ficta* much weakens the fine melody, which is in the severest form of the first ecclesiastical mode.

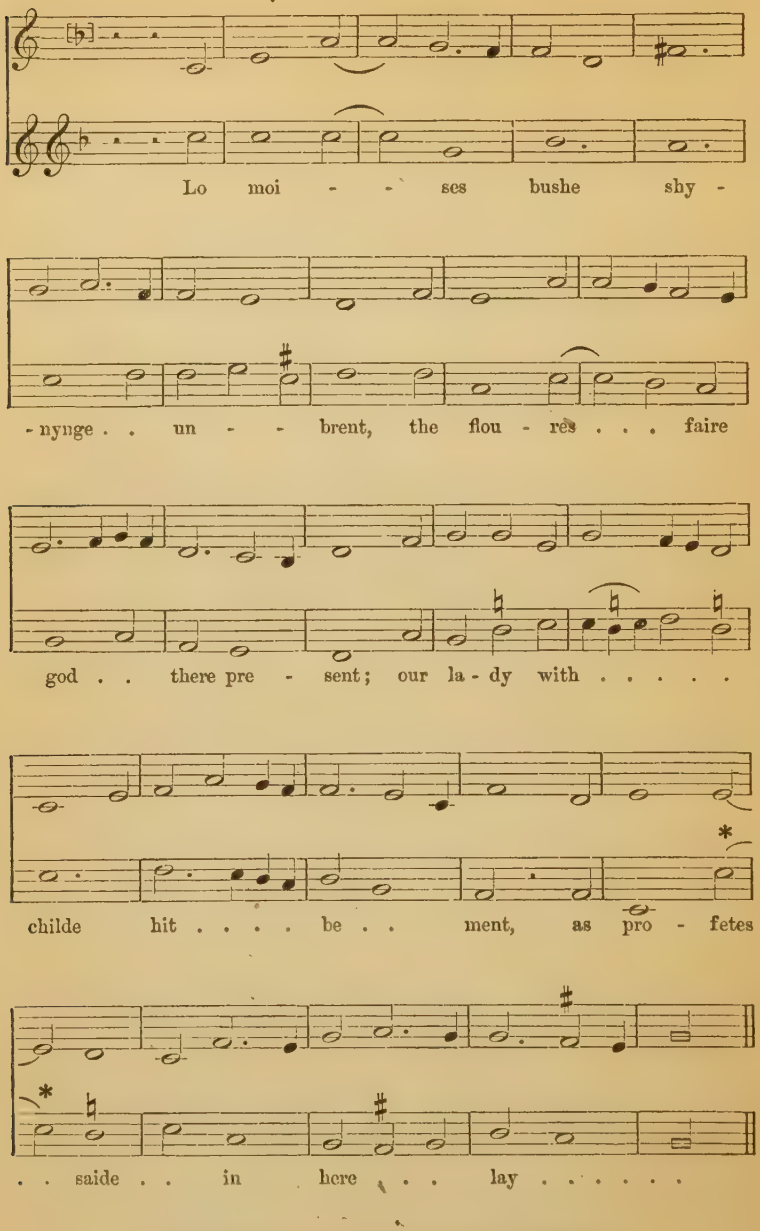
The example next following—a setting, in three parts, of the words of a thirteenth-century antiphon, *Nesciens Mater*—is remarkable for the relative modernity of some of its effects, as for instance in some of the cadences, and especially in the close upon the last syllable of 'Angelorum,' where the middle voice passes to the third, instead of the fifth, of the final chord. This breach of immemorial rule for the sake of sweetness is characteristic of this writer, for indeed the whole of his composition is full of beautiful sound, vague and formless, no doubt, but welcome to ears fatigued with purposeless discord and bare fifths; his work in fact belongs, as we shall find, to a different class from the rest.

HAYL GODYS SONE.

Bodl. Lib.
Selden MSS., B. 26, fol. 24. About 1430.



* This note is in the lower octave in the original.


Lo moi - - ses bushe shy -
- nynge . . un - - brent, the flou - res . . . faire
god . . there pre - sent; our la - dy with . . . . .
childe hit . . . . be . . ment, as pro - fetes
. . saide . . in here . . . lay . . . . . .

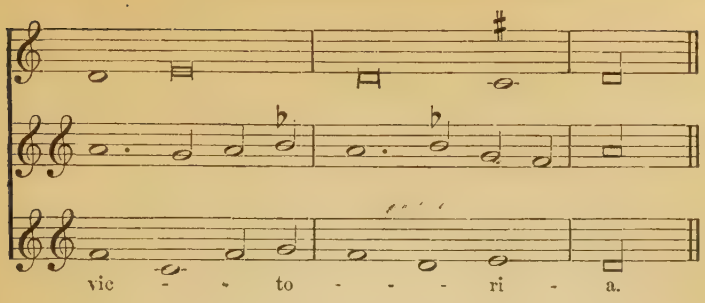
* These notes are in the lower octave in the original.

Deo Gracias Anglia.

Bodl. Lib.
Selden MSS., B. 26, fol. 17ᵛ. Before 1421.

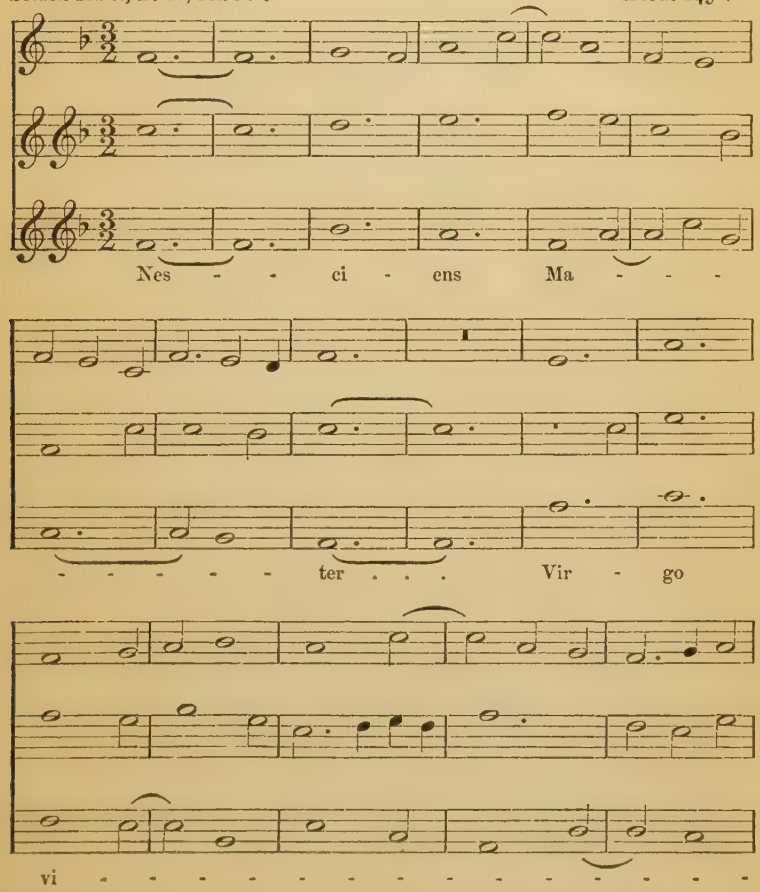
[Duo]
De - o gra - ci - as . . An - - gli -
- a red - de pro vic - - to -
- - - - - ri - a. Owre Kynge went
forth to Nor - man - dy, with grace . . and
might . . . of chy - val - ry; Ther God for

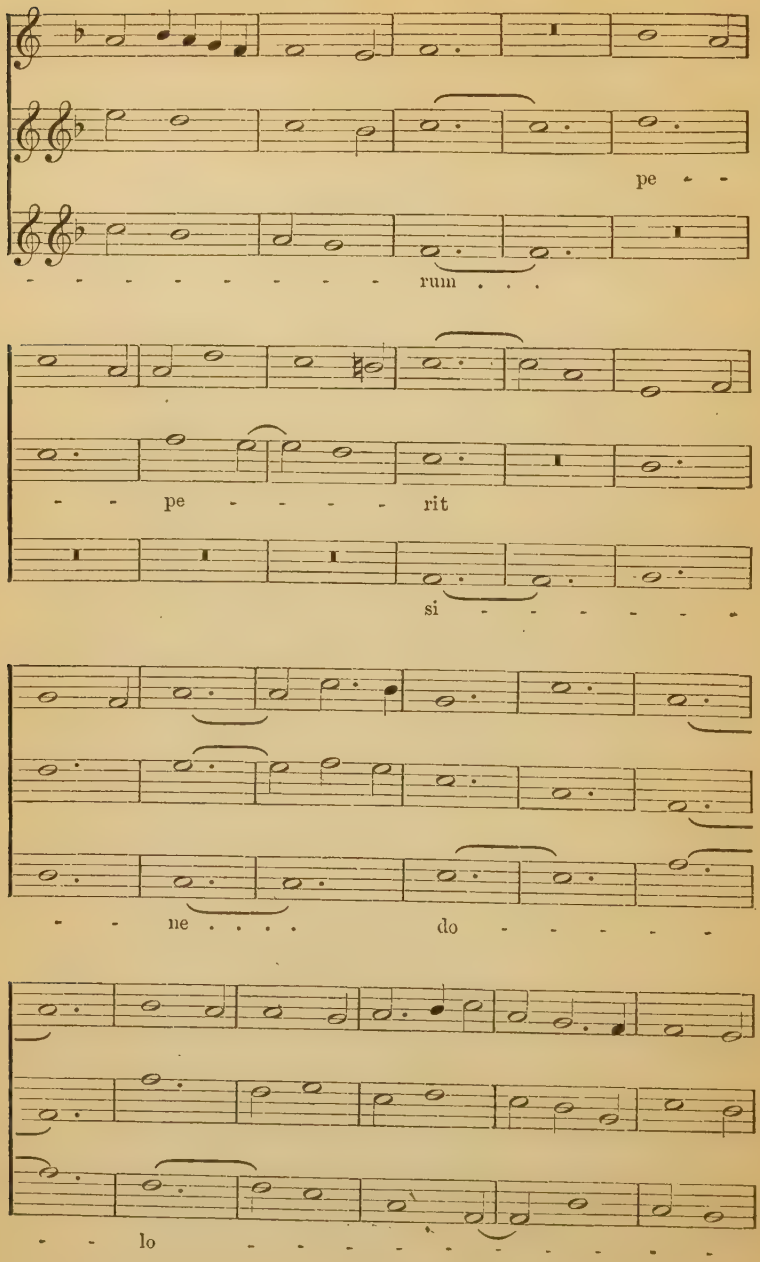
hym . . wrought merve - - lus - ly, wher -
- fore Eng - londe may calle and
cry; De - o gra - - - - - - ci - as.
Chorus.
De - o gra - ci - as An - - -
- - gli - - a red - de pro

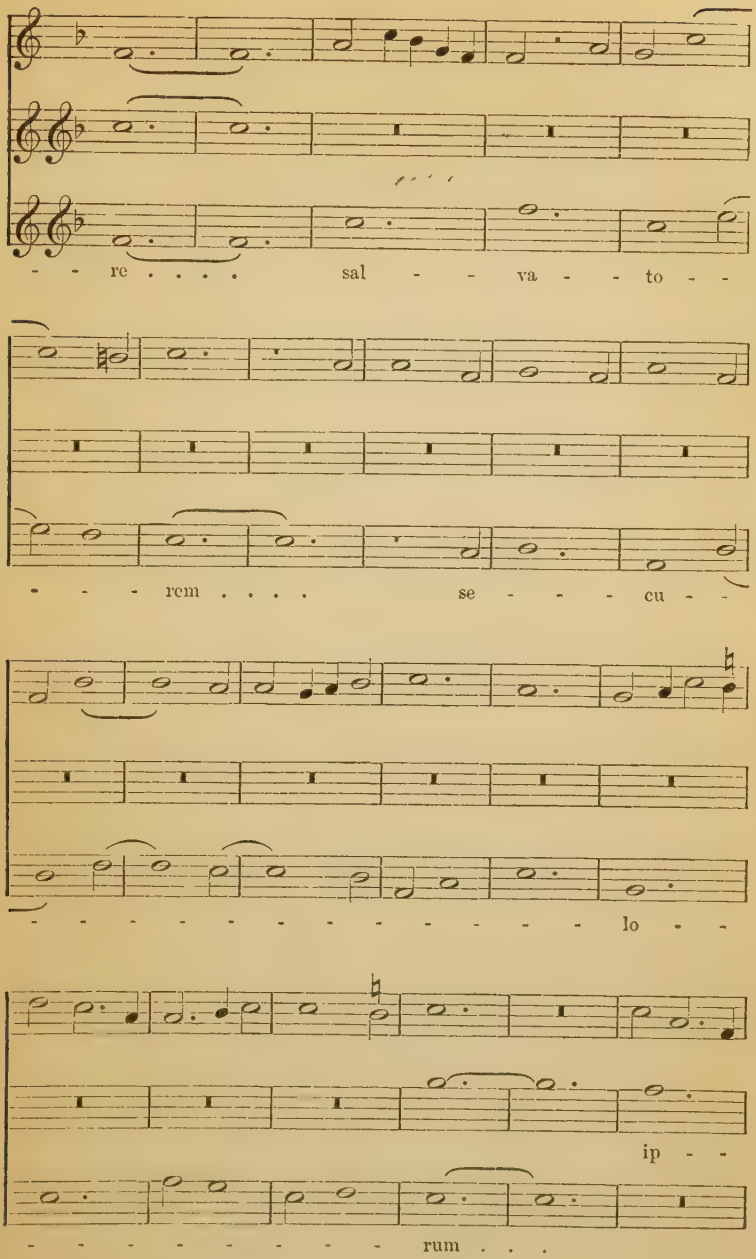


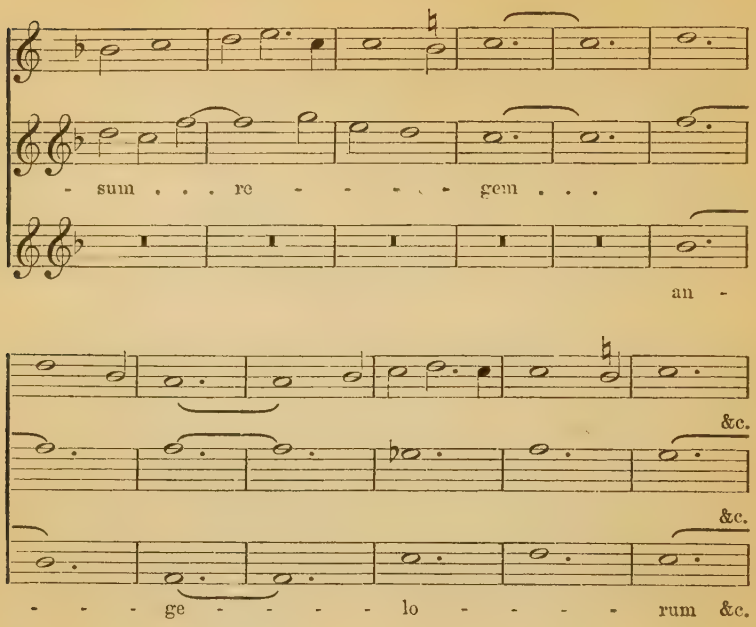
Nesciens Mater.

Bodl. Lib.
Selden MSS., B. 26, fol. 20v. About 1450.




pe - -
- - - - - - - - - rum . . .
- - pe - - - - rit
si - - - - - - -
- - ne . . . . do - - - - - -
- - lo - - - - - - - - - - -


- - re . . . . sal - - va - - to - -
- - - rem . . . . se - - - cu - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - lo - -
ip - -
- - - - - - - - - - rum . . .



The limits of our space forbid any further exhibition of the contents of this MS., but it may be said that the specimens given fairly represent the different kinds of subject to be found in it, and the special methods employed in dealing with them. With respect to the authorship of the music, or of any part of it, nothing can be suggested at present, since the MS. gives no clue to this, nor to the place of origin. On the other hand, we may perhaps venture to say that there can be little doubt that the collection represents one aspect, interesting from its variety, of a newly forming English school; for the agreement in respect of method is so evident in each branch of composition, and the steps by which progress was advanced are so marked, that a consideration of these fifty-odd pieces as the work of composers who were entirely independent or isolated, seems impossible. That an English school actually existed

during the first half of the fifteenth century, and that it had already reached a relatively high degree of excellence in its productions before the year 1450, is clear from a poem—*Le Champion des Dames*, by Martin le Franc—composed certainly between 1436 and 1444, in which the special superiority of the leaders of the contemporary French school, Guillaume Dufay and Binchois, as compared with the men of the older generation, Tapissier, Carmen, Cesaris, is said to arise from their adoption of English methods:—

'Et ont pris de la contenance
Angloise, et ensuivy Dunstable.'

The Old Hall MS.[1] is somewhat later in date than that which we have just examined, and is of great importance, both on account of the large number of compositions, all purely ecclesiastical, which are contained in it, and also from the fact that the authors' names are given apparently whenever possible. By far the largest part of the volume is devoted to settings of the ordinary of the Mass, not grouped, however, in their natural order, but so that all the portions of one kind are together; thus the volume begins, for instance, with thirty-six settings of the *Gloria*, and these are followed by many others dealing with the *Credo*, *Sanctus*, &c., while the greater part of the remaining space is occupied by antiphons, motetts, and hymns, chiefly in honour of the Blessed Virgin. Especially noticeable among these are two motetts, in which the texts of the two upper parts consist of prayers to the Virgin and St. George on behalf of King Henry VI. The prayer to the Virgin, adopted in the upper voice of the motett in which the invocation of St. George occurs, is already known (without the special prayer for the king which has been inserted), and appears in at least one collection of Latin hymns, but the prayer to St. George, in the middle voice of the motett, is

[1] For an account of this MS. see Mr. W. B. Squire's article in the Journal of the *Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, 1900–1, p. 342.

unique, and apparently peculiar to some foundation dedicated to the Saint. After requests for the sovereign—'Be thou present in the councils of Henry our King, sustain him against his enemies, put on the shield, bend the bow, bring him succour'—the singers continue: 'Glorious hope of the English people, hear the petitions of thy servants now singing unto thee; may we, through thee, *our patron*, obtain the gift of peace in the land of the living[1].' This, and the fact that two of the principal composers in this MS. were prebend and canon respectively of St. George's, Windsor, would seem to suggest that foundation as the place of origin of this fine collection.

The names of the composers, given in the MS., are as follows: Cooke, . . .zleyn, Sturgeon, Damett, Burell, Gyttering, Tyes, Excetre, Lyonel or Leonel, Pycard, Rowlard, Queldryk, Gervays, ffonteyns, Oliver or Olyver, Chirbury or Chyrbury, Typp, Forest, Swynford, Pennard, Lambe, Mayshuet or (?) Mayshurst; and last, though not least—for his work is excellent—'Roy Henry' himself, whose name stands at the head of two settings of portions of the ordinary of the Mass, the *Gloria* and the *Sanctus*[2].

It is difficult, in considering this MS., entirely to disregard

[1] Miles fortis custos plebis
sis Henrici nostri regis
presens ad consilium.
Contra hostes apprehende
arma scutum, archum tende,
sibi fer auxilium.
Gloriosa spes Anglorum,
audi vota famulorum
tibi nunc canencium.
Per te nostrum ut patronum
consequamur pacis donum
in terra vivencium.

[2] The discovery of Henry's work as a composer of music of the highest class was of course unexpected, but is not surprising, if we consider that the king had been brought up from childhood under the immediate care of Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, and moreover that he was always not only of a studious and retiring disposition but also exceedingly devout.

a supposition which presents itself to the mind, namely that these composers, with whose work that of the king himself is associated, may possibly have constituted the Royal Chapel, or a part of it. It is true that we know very little concerning this earliest period of the history of the Chapel. It is known of course that Henry V, though a great patron of minstrelsy, also possessed a Chapel—*plena cantoribus ampla capella*, a contemporary poem calls it—and that he sent orders from France, during his second expedition, that it should come to keep the Easter of 1418 with him at Rouen; moreover, some of its members may perhaps be recognized in William Thorley, chaplain, Walter Wodehall, organist of St. Paul's, William Dyolet, Richard Laudewarnake, Thomas Wodeford, and Gerald Hesyll, clerks and singers, who received money from the Exchequer for their expenses in going to France[1]. This is all that can be said at present concerning the Chapel of Henry V, and with respect to that of his son we know nothing beyond the probable fact of its existence. It may be that the long minority of Henry VI, followed by the constant troubles which depressed his life, may have prevented the formation of a complete musical establishment, but that something of the kind existed during this time, possibly at St. George's, seems not unlikely, if we consider the special prayers for the king which are to be found in this collection; remembering also that Thomas Damett, the prebend of Windsor, and composer of the motett invoking the help of St. George, already mentioned, is described in a patent of this reign as 'one of the chaplains of the *Royal Chapel*.'

But however this may be, we undoubtedly possess, in the music of the Old Hall MS., a collection which exhibits all the qualities necessary to the creation of that supreme authority which belongs to a Chapel Royal; for it is clear, even from the imperfect examination of the MS. which is all that has yet been possible, that in number, variety, and consistent application

[1] See *History of English Music*, by H. Davey, London, without date.

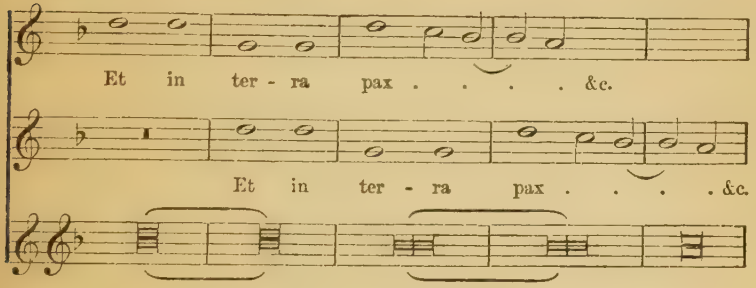
of the traditional technique, this series of compositions cannot have been excelled by any contemporary collection. Not all its specimens, however, are absolutely agreed in point of style, a fact which is to be accounted for probably by the considerable period of time which is covered by the MS.; so that while we here find preserved works which must undoubtedly have been among those exhibiting the novelties, referred to by writers of the time, which excited the admiration of foreign composers, we find also a far greater number, probably by the more ancient men, in which the older methods are still persistently apparent.

Thus, at first sight, the English music of the fifteenth century, as here represented, reveals, as compared with that of the fourteenth, very few points of difference. We observe in both the same incapability to imagine the main subject as apart from a *cantus prius factus*, and the same reliance upon plainsong or popular melody, or something written in imitation of these; we observe also the same timidity and absence of resource in the methods of opening the composition; we are struck by the same irrational use of discord, which is employed, apparently, sometimes with a view to expression and sometimes from sheer inability to preserve any kind of melody if concordance were always necessary; the same superstitious avoidance of the third in the close; and finally the same apparent insensibility to the need of harmonic propriety in groups of sounds. But we may at the same time perceive, upon closer observation, a growing tendency in some composers towards the abolition of crude discord, and in many cases even an absolute preference for pure concord throughout; by these composers also the interval of the third is more often used with the fifth in closes not final, and sometimes indeed supplies its place. In other respects, such as the basis of the composition and the methods of opening, there is little, if any, sign of awaking in the English music of the fifteenth century. In the whole of this collection only two or three compositions begin with a point of imitation,

and this is generally of a very tentative character; indeed, it may be said that it is distinguishable chiefly in the written music, and that from the sound alone of the passage the point would barely be perceived.

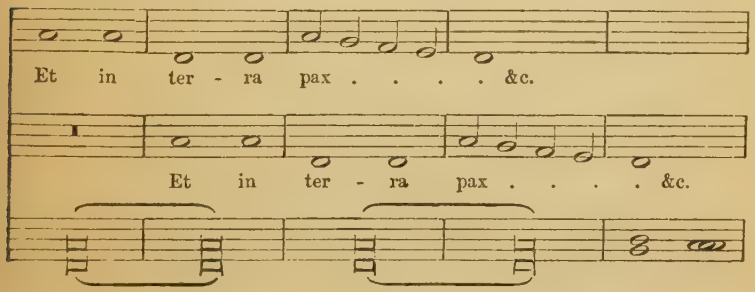
i.

Old Hall MS., fol. 23b. Pycard.



ii.

Old Hall MS., fol. 29b. Pycard.



More often the voices open with a plain counterpoint, almost entirely note under note, which is sustained for some little time; sometimes even the opening passage is in pure *faulx bourdon*; but the method perhaps most in favour is that in which the unison and octave, or unison octave and fifth, is heard as the first sound, and then, while two of the voices continue to hold their notes firmly, the remaining part is heard rising or falling, as the case may be, to the third; and this method is as old as Machault, in whose *Agnus Dei* (p. 26 of the present volume) it

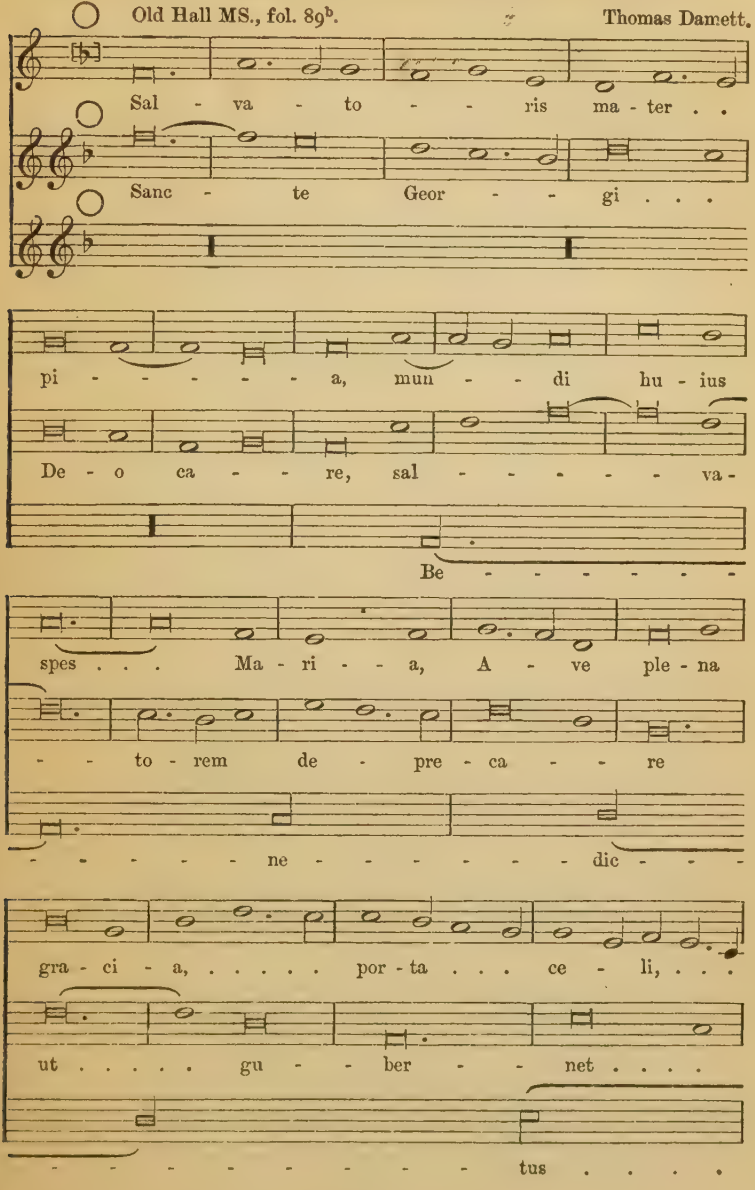
may be seen, slightly ornamented. The effect of the third, appearing in this manner, and completing the chord, is so remarkably pleasing, and so welcome to the ear, that the entire abstention from the use of that interval in direct combination with the fifth, which still continued among the general body of composers at this time, can only be taken as proof of an extraordinary respect for established rules, and a most devout belief in their efficacy, on the part of musicians.

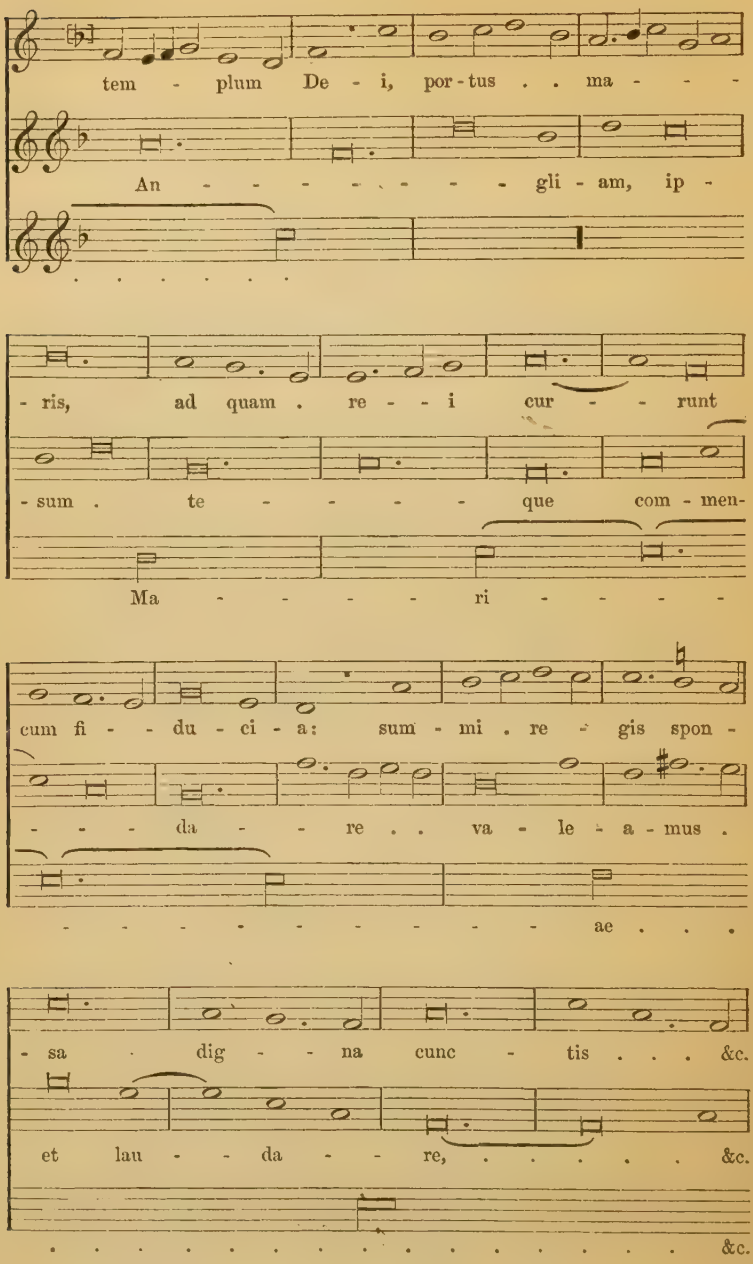
It would be impossible to exhibit here all the methods contained in this valuable MS., which should be made the subject of a special investigation, but we may give the opening of Damett's motett in which the prayer to St. George occurs, and a *Sanctus* and *Osanna* by the king himself. The king's compositions are extremely interesting for their own sake, and are often original and beautiful in their effects. In his music the struggle towards continuous beauty of pure sound—a struggle in which the artist is sorely hindered both by the severity of the tradition and by the poverty of the inherited material—is perhaps more obvious than in that of almost any composer of this MS., among those whose works have been examined.

Motett.

SALVATORIS MATER.

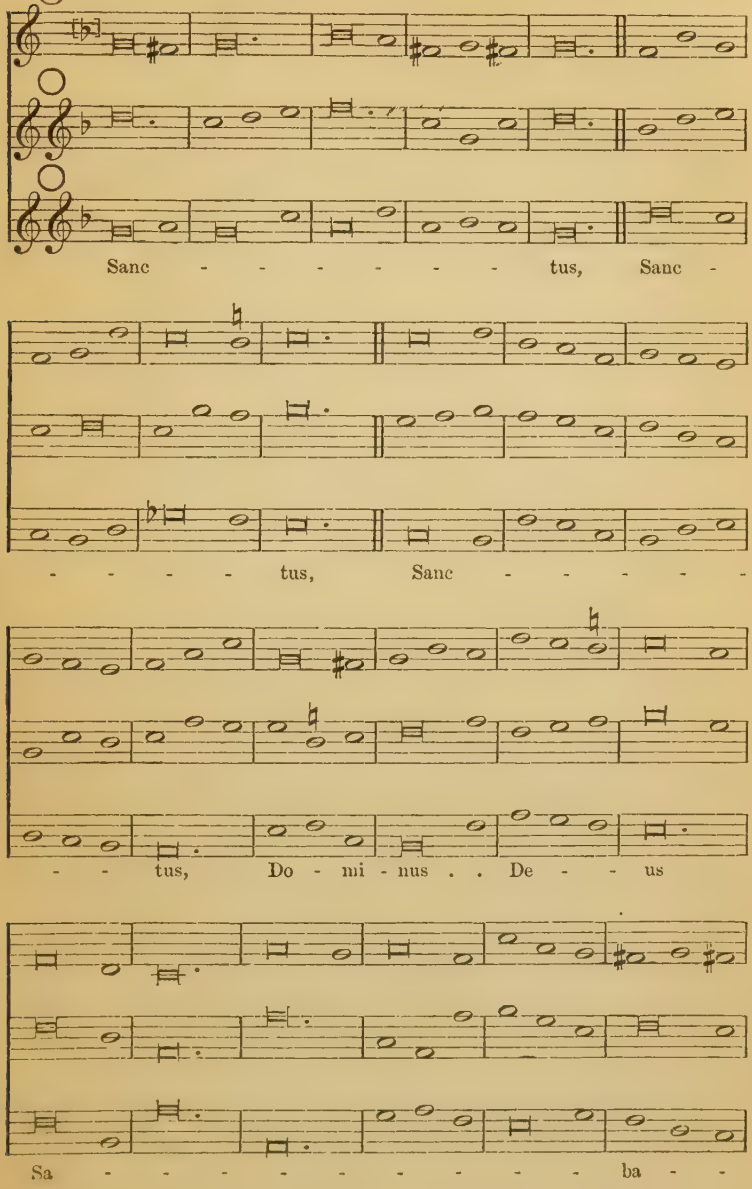
Great Mode Perfect, Small Mode Imperfect, Time Perfect.

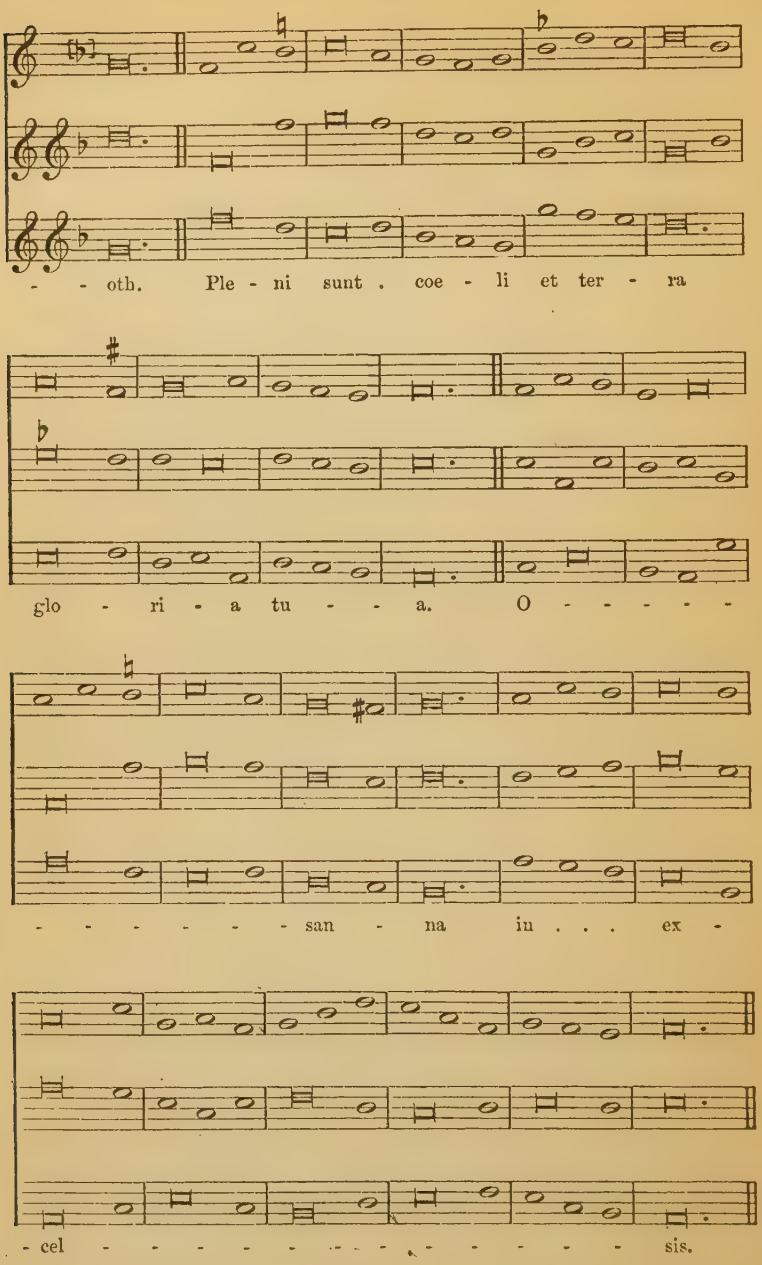

Old Hall MS., fol. 89b.
Thomas Damett.
Sal - va - to - - - ris ma - ter . .
Sanc - te Geor - - gi . . .
pi - - - - - - a, mun - - di hu - ius
De - o ca - - re, sal - - - - - - va -
Be - - - - - - -
spes . . . Ma - ri - - a, A - ve ple - na
- - to - rem de - pre - ca - - re
- - - - - - ne - - - - - - - dic - - -
gra - ci - a, ... por - ta . . . ce - li, . . .
ut . . . . . gu - - ber - - net . . . .
- - - - - - - - - - tus . . . .


tem - plum De - i, por - tus . . ma - - - -
An - - - - - - - - gli - am, ip -
- ris, ad quam . re - - i cur - - runt
- sum . te - - - - - que com - men-
Ma - - - - - ri - - - -
cum fi - - du - ci - a: sum - mi . re - gis spon -
- - - da - - re . . va - le - a - mus .
- - - - - - - - - - ae . . .
- sa dig - - na cunc - tis . . . &c.
et lau - - da - - re, ... &c.
. . . . . &c.

Sanctus.

Old Hall MS., fol. 80b. 'Roy Henry.'




- - oth. Ple - ni sunt . coe - li et ter - ra
glo - ri - a tu - - a. O - - - - -
- - - - - - - san - na in . . . ex -
- cel - - - - - - - - - - - - - sis.

Following upon our consideration of the Selden and Old Hall MSS., a third source, already mentioned, from which examples of the English work of this period may be obtained, remains to be examined—the collections, that is to say, which are contained in certain codices in libraries at Trient (now at Vienna [1]), at Modena [2] and at Bologna [3]. The English compositions which are found in these collections are of unusual historical value, since they would seem to indicate the existence of a small and perhaps select school of English composers, distinct from that represented by the Selden and Old Hall MSS., a school the names of whose members are recorded for the most part in foreign MSS., whose reputation was chiefly among foreign writers and composers, and whose work was in all probability carried on abroad. Among the members of this school were Dunstable—its acknowledged leader—Power, Gervays, Forest, Benet, Bedingham, Stanley, Stove, Merkham, Alain. Of these composers, Power, as it would seem, was also largely recognized in this country, for the Old Hall MS. contains twenty-one compositions with his name; two ascribed to Forest, and one to Gervays, are also given in the same MS., but the remaining members, including Dunstable, were apparently unknown to the scribe. Two contemporary copies, indeed, of authentic works by Dunstable are known to exist in this country, one in the Old Hall MS. and one in the Selden collection, but both are given as anonymous.

It has already been pointed out that the compositions of that part of the English school whose activity is recorded in the Old Hall MS. reveal very noticeable varieties of style, and a considerable inequality of merit, and it may now be said that in the works of the foreign branch we perceive, on the other hand, great similarity of treatment, and a kind of deliberation and regularity in the manner of proceeding which suggest, certainly

[1] Translations by Guido Adler and Oswald Koller are published as part of the series of *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, by Artaria & Co., Vienna.

[2] Bibl. Estense, Cod. VI, H, 15.

[3] Liceo Musicale, Cod. 37.

more than those in the English libraries, the idea of a school led by one man, and reproducing, according to the ability of individual members, the methods of a chief. And it is no doubt to this solidarity that we may attribute the fact that the members of the school were able, in the midst of foreign influences, to preserve, so distinctly as we see that they did, the native English character in their works, and that they succeeded even in imposing their methods upon the musicians by whom they were surrounded. They had brought with them indeed from this country a method founded upon the specially English development of the principles of *faulx bourdon* recorded by Guilelmus Monachus, a method which was totally new, and extremely surprising to the French and Italians. Instead of the dry and aimless writing of the individual parts to which they were accustomed, the foreign musicians now for the first time perceived the possibility of a continuous flow of suave sound, rising and falling in waves of melody, divided into manageable phrases, and harmonized almost entirely in the mellifluous imperfect consonances; not cloying the ear, but by a constant interchange of thirds and sixths refreshing it and exciting its interest. In listening to music such as this the practitioners of the outworn methods of Machault and Landini may well have been both delighted and envious.

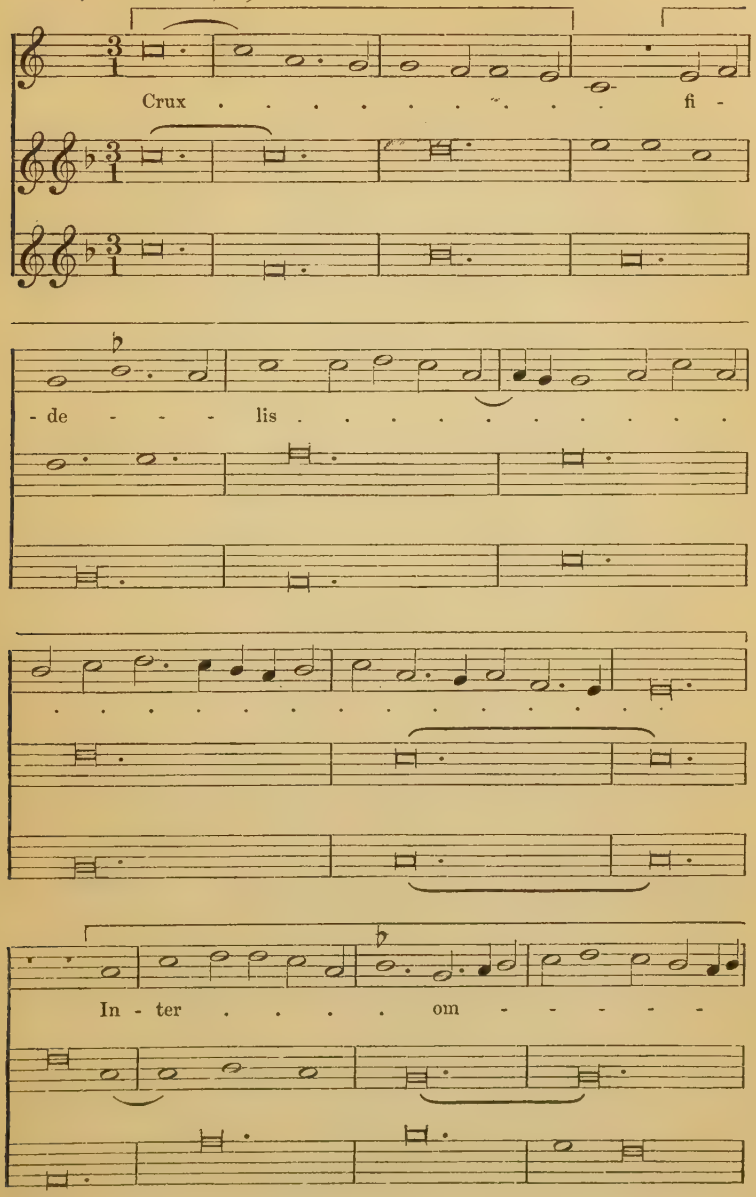
'Tu as bien les Anglois ouÿ
Jouer à la Court de Bourgongne,
N'as pas, certainement ouÿ
Fut il jamais telle besongne:
J'ay veu Binchois avoir vergongne
Et soy taire emprès leur rebelles
Et du Fay despite et frongne
Qu'il n'a mélodie si belle[1].'

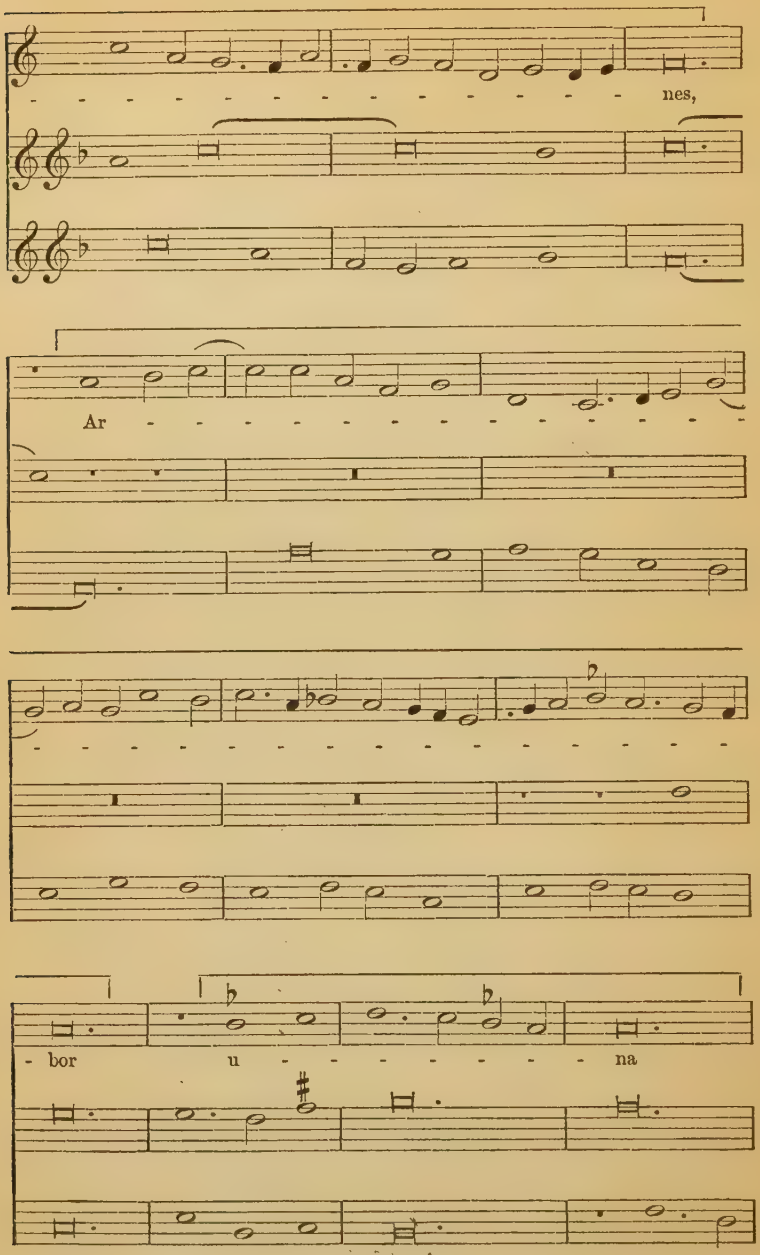
And although this was spoken of instrumental music, yet the examples which follow show that it might equally well apply to music of the highest class.

[1] *Le Champion des Dames*, Martin le Franc.

Crux Fidelis.

Modena, Bibl. Estense, i. 98. John Dunstable.

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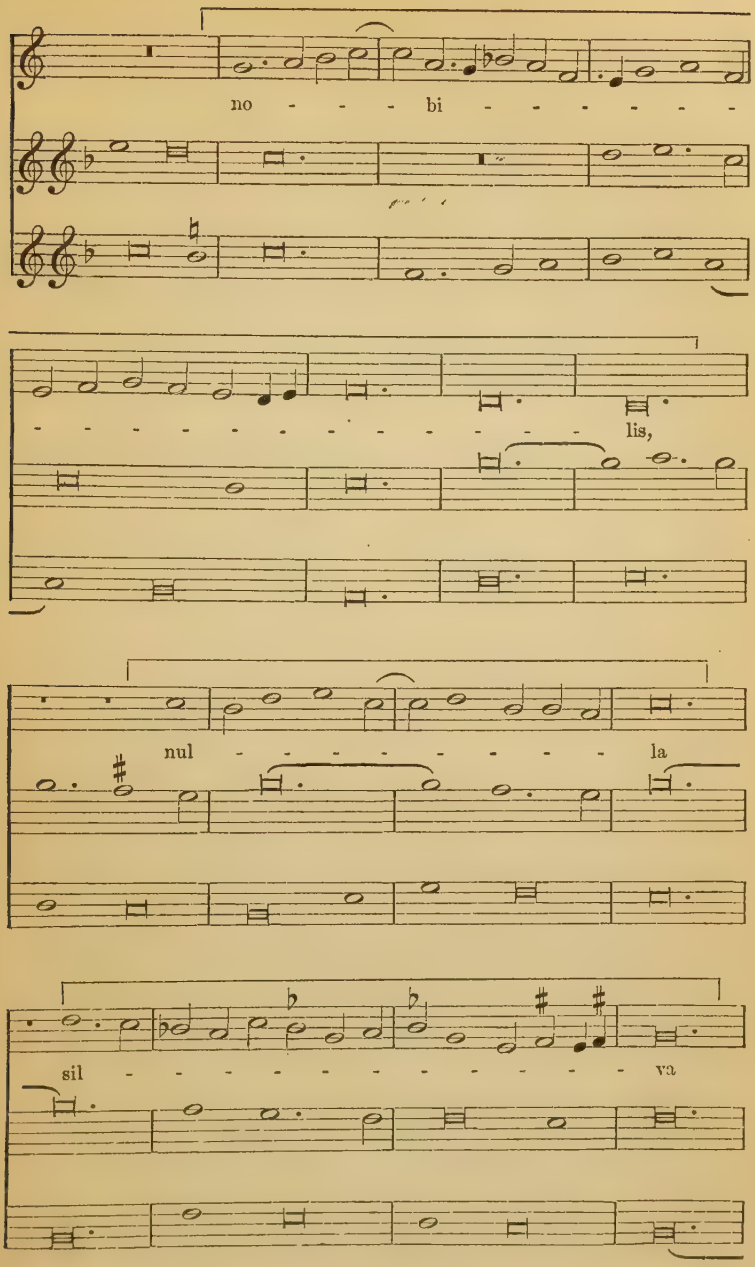
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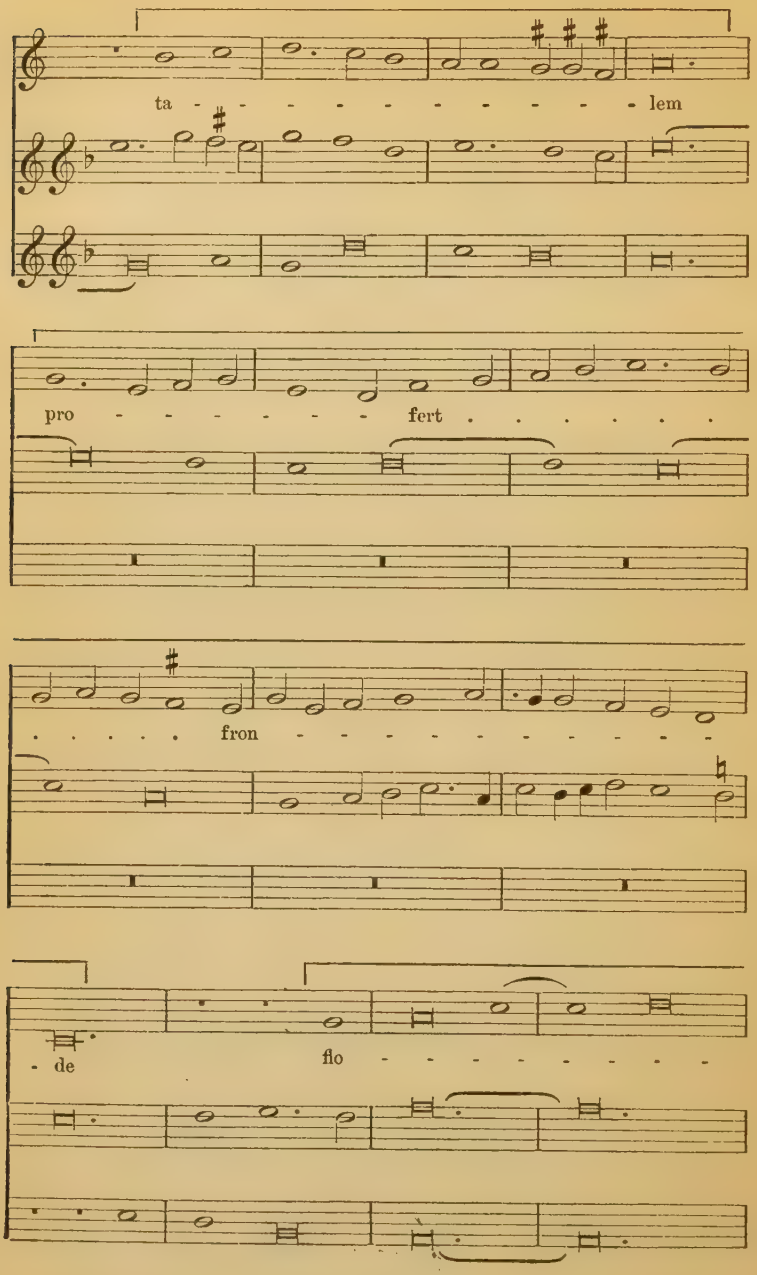
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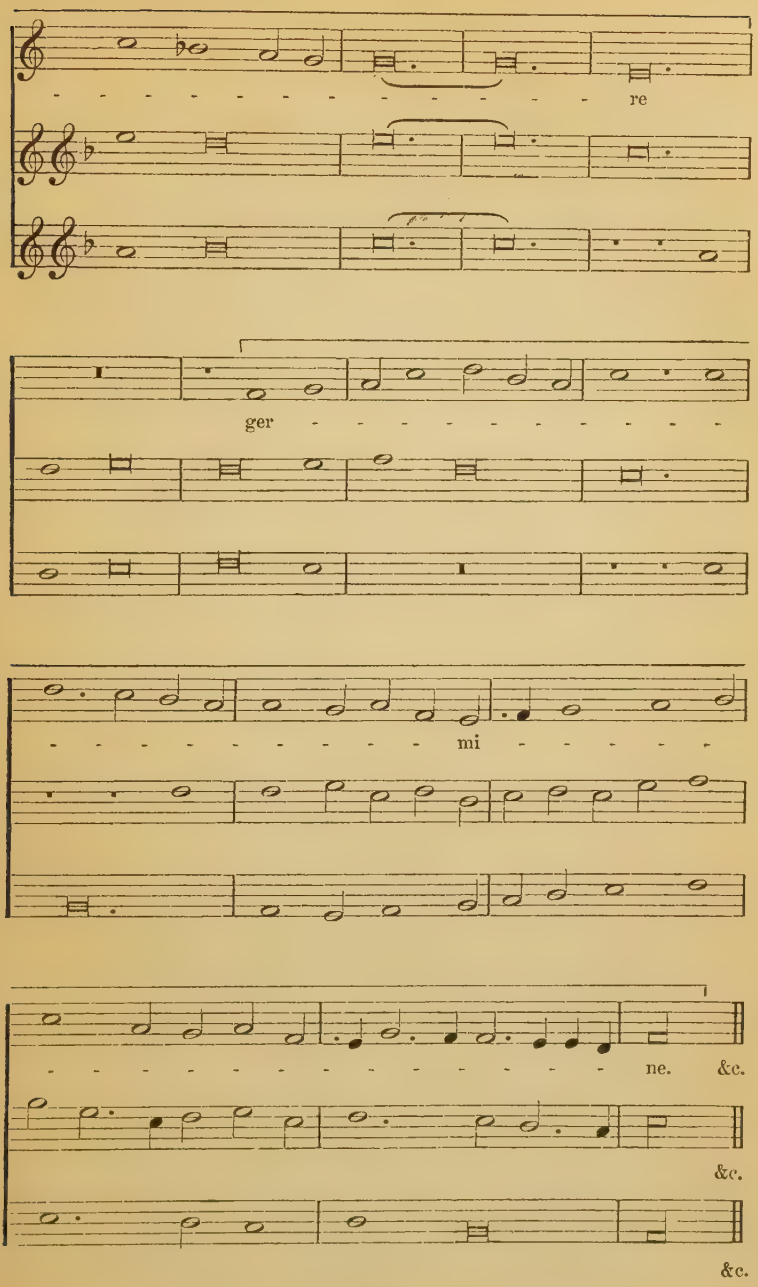
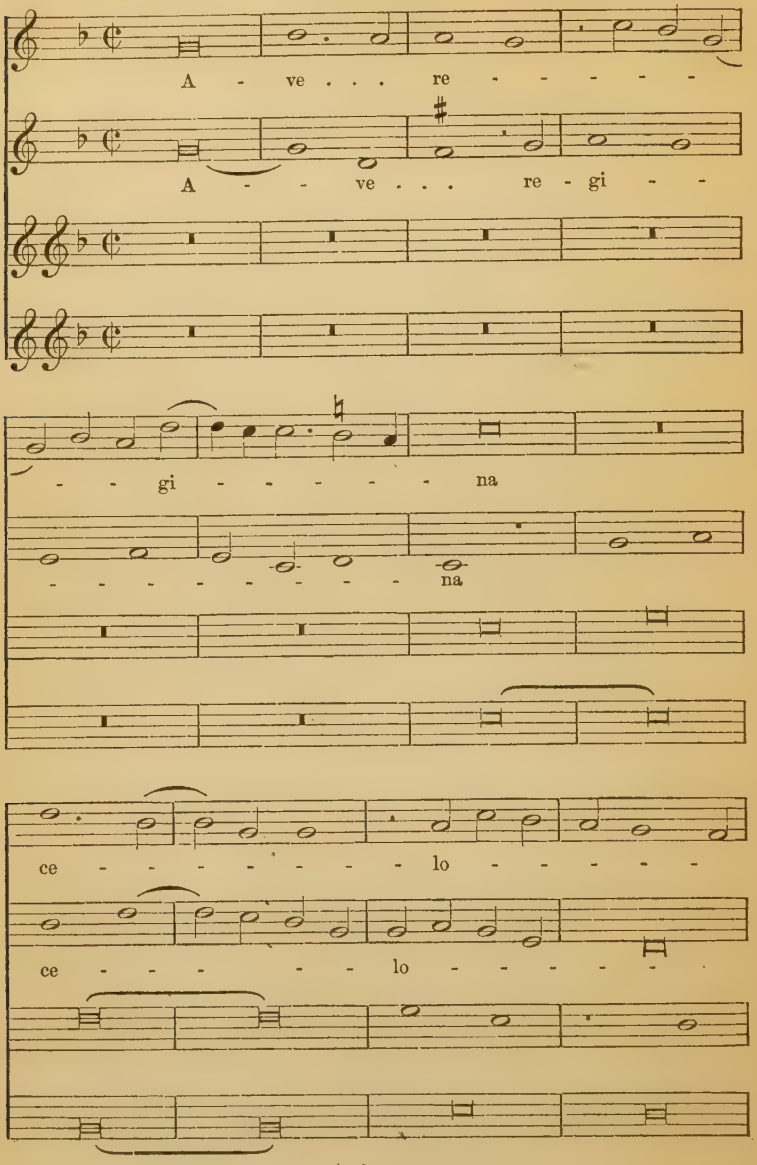
- de flo - - - - - - - - -

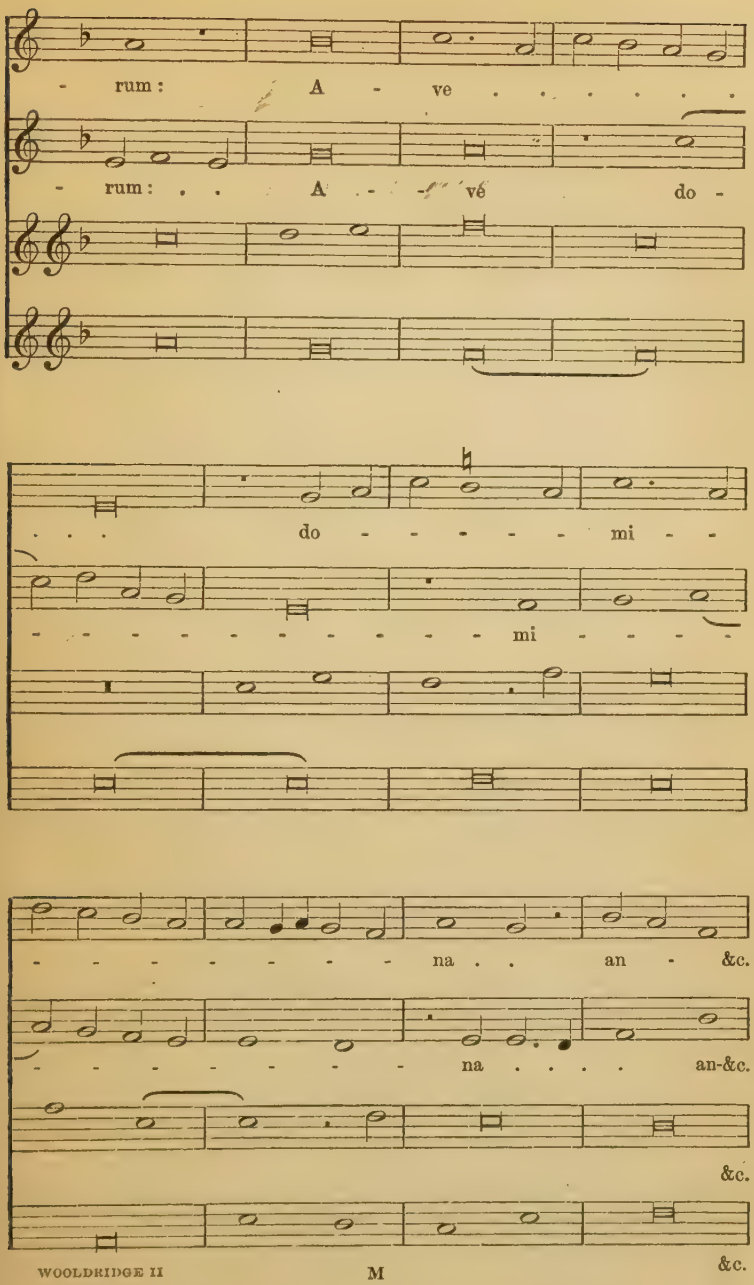

re
ger
mi
ne. &c.
&c.
&c.

Ave Regina.

First Part.

Bodl. Lib. MSS. Selden, B. 26, fol. 16v. Leonel Power.




- rum: A - ve . . . . . .
- rum: . . A . - - vé do -
. . . do - - - - - - mi - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - mi - - - -
- - - - - - - - - na . . an - &c.
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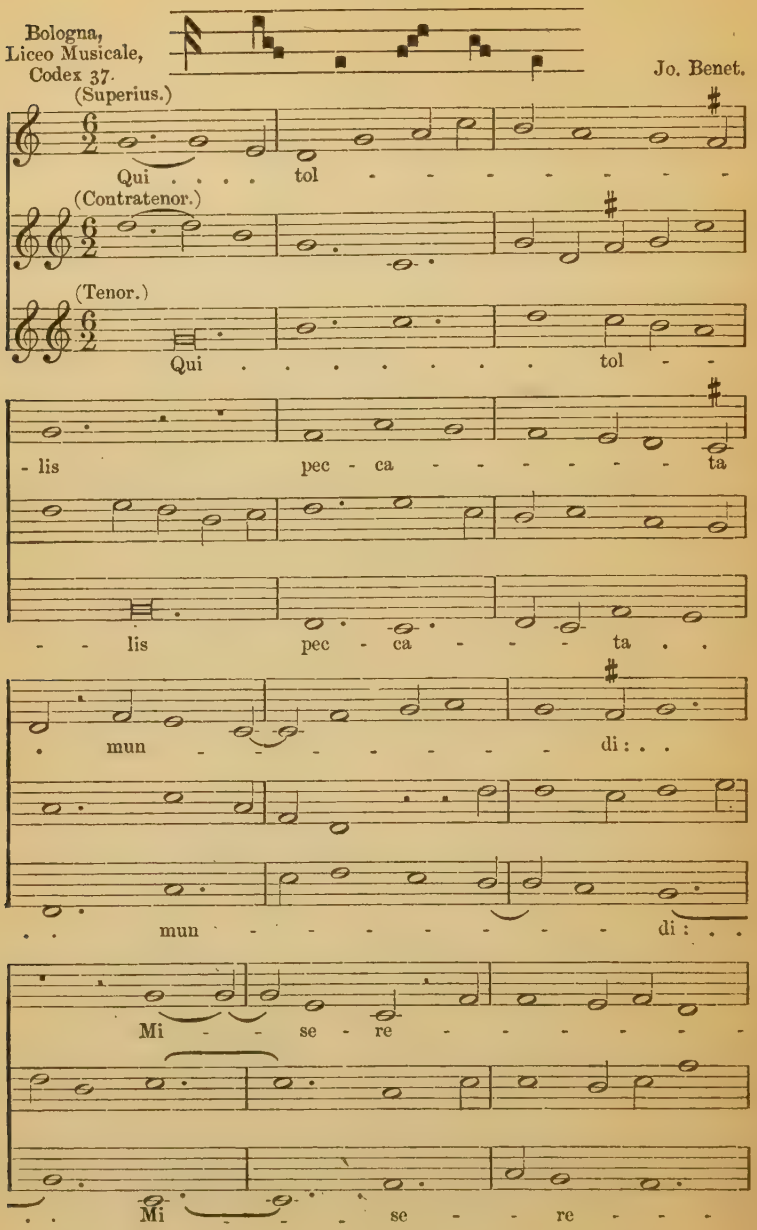
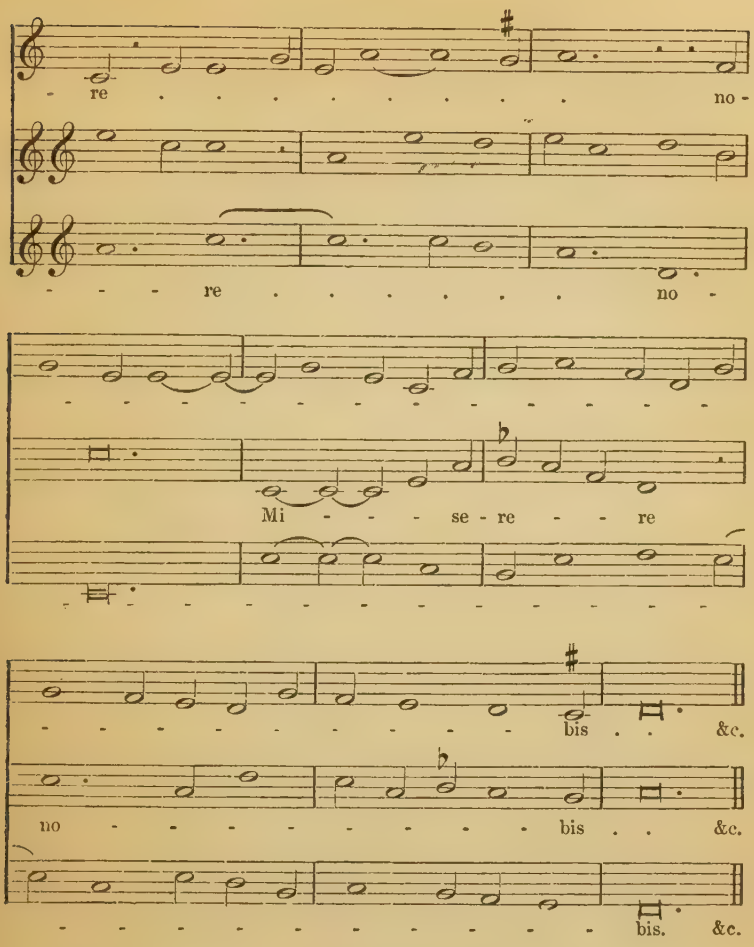
&c.
&c.

Agnus Dei.


Bologna,
Liceo Musicale,
Codex 37.
Jo. Benet.
(Superius.)
Qui . . . . tol - - - - - - - -
(Contratenor.)
(Tenor.)
Qui . . . . . tol - -
- lis pec - ca - - - - - - - ta
- - lis pec - ca - - - - ta . .
. mun - - - - - - - - di: . .
. . mun - - - - - - - - - di: . .
Mi - - se - re - - - - - - -
. . Mi - - - - se - - re - - -

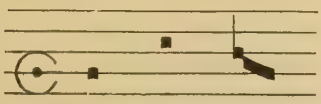


In this composition a duet for two single voices follows, constituting the second *Agnus* and *Miserere*, after which the third repetition of the words is taken by the full chorus.

These specimens are fairly typical of the work of Power and Benet, but with regard to Dunstable it may be said that while the example gives an excellent idea of the extreme purity and suavity of his music, it exhibits him in only one aspect, and that in other compositions he is sometimes both more formal and more learned than in this. He was indeed the first of English composers to create works, of any considerable extent, controlled throughout by some coherent scheme founded upon purely technical resources and apart from or beside the plain-song. This great advance is well illustrated, for instance, in a fine motett, *Veni Sancte Spiritus*—too long, unfortunately, to be given here—in which the element of unity is supplied by a tenor in long notes, repeating twice, while the necessary variety is obtained from the upper parts, which descant in a different measure at each resumption of the subject. Thus, at its first utterance, the tenor, in the great mood imperfect, is accompanied by the upper parts in time perfect with the minor prolation; at its repetition in the same mood, the counterpoint is in time imperfect with the minor prolation, while at its final appearance it is itself diminished, and the whole concludes in the measure with which the upper parts began, that is, in time perfect with the minor prolation. It is very possible that this method, by means of which the idea of a distinct organic whole is not unsuccessfully conveyed to the mind, may have originated with Dunstable, and this indeed might have been in itself sufficient to establish his fame; but, since it is to be met with also in the works of his foreign contemporaries, the question of priority must remain unsettled until our knowledge with respect to the exact chronological order of musical events at this time is considerably extended.

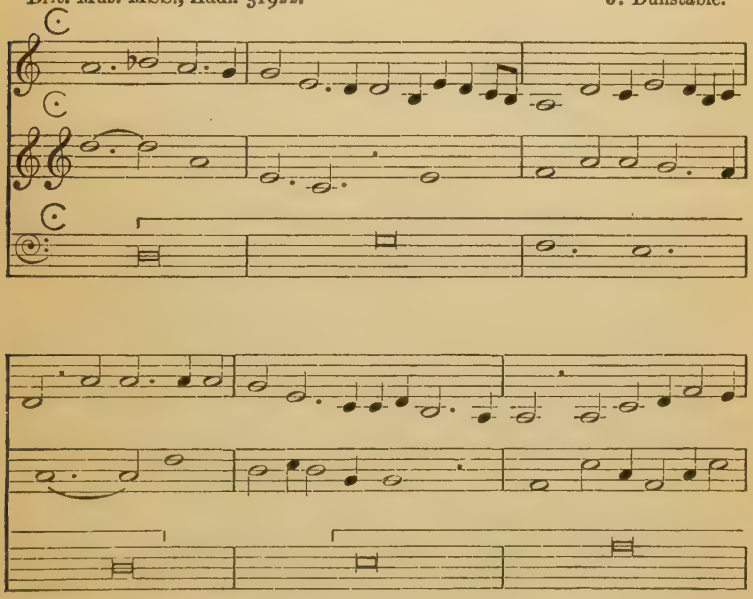
Besides attempts, such as this, towards the creation of a musical form suitable to the resources of music as they were then understood, mere learned puzzles sometimes occur in the work of Dunstable, uninteresting in themselves, but showing a great mastery of the means at his command, and in this matter

also he may have been an originator. Such a puzzle, for instance, is prefixed to another motett upon the text *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, in the foreign MSS., which bears the direction — '*Et dicitur primo directe, 2° subverte lineam, 3° reverte remittendo tertiam partem et capies dyapenthe, si vis habere tenorem*'; two others also are found in a MS. of Henry VIII's time; of these one is still undeciphered, but the other has yielded to modern investigation. The latter composition is fortunately so short that it may be given here entire [1].

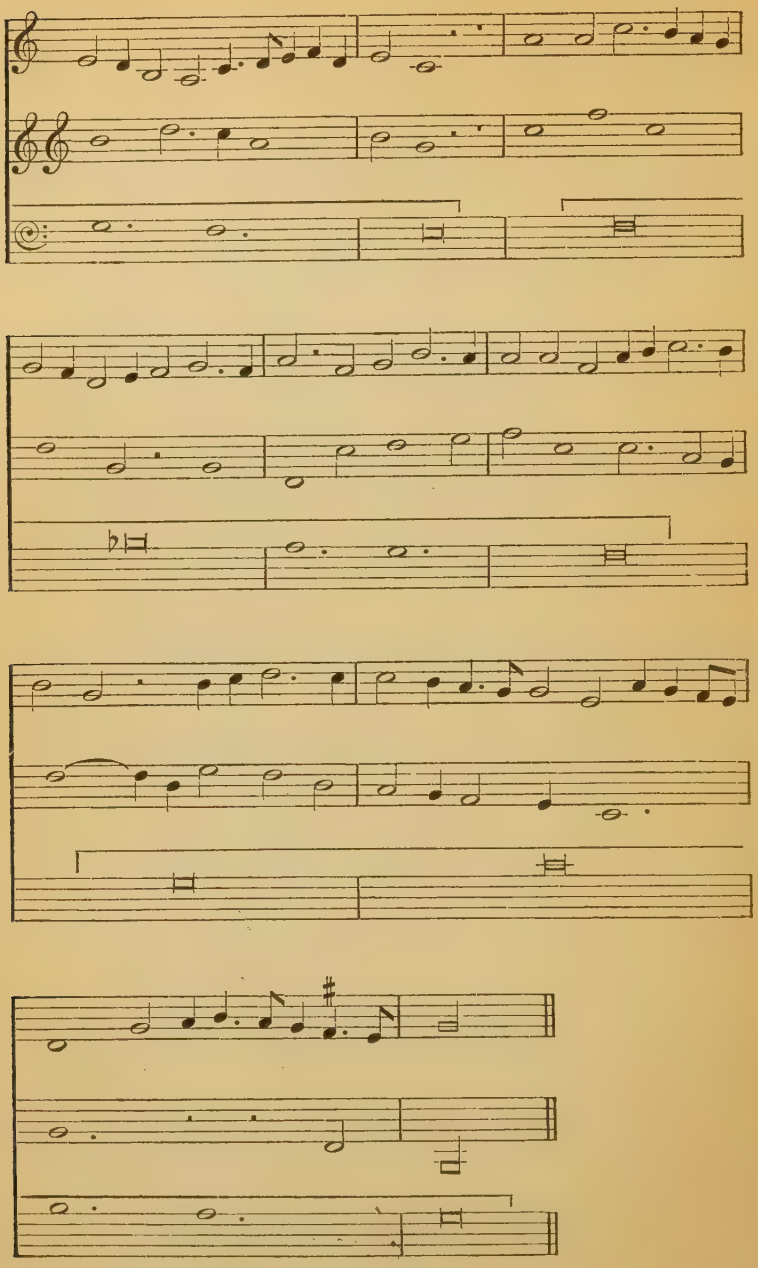


A dorio tenor hic ascendens esse videtur
Quater per genera tetrachordum repetetur.

Brit. Mus. MSS., Addl. 31922. J. Dunstable.



[1] This was deciphered by Mr. J. R. Stainer, and is published in *Early Bodleian Music*, vol. ii.



On the other hand Dunstable's work is sometimes apparently in a lighter vein. A song, for instance, set by him to French words, *Puisque m'amour*, has been preserved in the Trient MSS; the only noticeable difference, however, which it displays, as compared with his motetts, is that it is comparatively short, and that it contains two points of imitation, which appear and reappear alternately and frequently throughout the work. The song *O Rosa Bella*, also, apparently very popular abroad, and often adopted as the theme of compositions of various kinds, from the Mass downwards, is thought to have been set by him in three parts; the particular composition, however, with which his name is identified, has been ascribed to him as it would seem upon very slender evidence, since only one of the seven existing copies of this setting (that in the Vatican Library) bears the name of Dunstable, while the remaining six—two at Paris, one at Pavia, one at Dijon, and two at Vienna (from Trient)—are anonymous.

But whether treating serious or lighter subjects, the music of Dunstable—its actual texture, that is to say—remained, like that of all his contemporaries, exactly the same, always and throughout. In beauty, in sweetness and purity of sound—qualities derived chiefly from the specially English development of the *faulx bourdon* discant—it by far exceeded that of the foreign schools, to whom indeed, as they themselves confessed, it came as a revelation, and the prospect of a new art; but its texture was equally with that of the foreign music lacking in respect of variety, and was not at all adaptable to the special sentiment of the words. The eminence therefore of Dunstable, and also of his colleague Power,—as compared with their followers,—consisted not so much in a finer and more expressive style than theirs, as in more effective varieties of plan and contrivance in the presentation of this somewhat monotonously beautiful material; in methods, that is, such as we have already noticed, in the repeating tenor or ground, in varieties of proportion in the measure, in the arrangement

of the voices—now grouping, now separating them—and so on.

Dunstable is considered generally, not only as a distinguished English musician, but as the leader of the native school. And English he was by birth, and distinguished by his talents; but as regards his leadership of the native school, this must now appear as more than doubtful in the sense in which the saying has hitherto been understood; that is to say, it is now probable that he was never at the head of an undivided body of composers in this country. For in considering the English school of this period it would seem to be desirable, if we may venture to formulate any final conclusion at all from the scanty material at our disposal, that we should perceive, rather more clearly than hitherto, the existence of two branches. One of these, represented almost exclusively in foreign codices, was established abroad, as it would seem, during the first quarter of the fifteenth century—probably soon after Agincourt, in the years during which so much of France became for a time English ground—while the other, whose work is seen chiefly in the Selden and Old Hall MSS., continued the native tradition in this country. The method of the English composers whose works are found abroad is remarkable chiefly for its renunciation of arbitrary discords. These, though always forbidden since 1400 by the learned treatise-writers, had been abundantly sanctioned in practice by Machault and Landini, and were continued by those who came after, not necessarily entirely from choice, but partly because the methods of avoiding them were not apparent until they were revealed in the florid *faulx bourdon* discant. These methods, though at once eagerly embraced by the foreign schools, for whom they became the basis of the great evolutionary movement of the latter half of the century, were probably not understood, possibly not perfectly known, and certainly not fruitful among the greater part of the composers of the native school in England. The inclination towards complete concordance is visible indeed in some of the compositions in the Old

Hall MSS., so far as these have been examined, but the decided tendency of the English branch is towards the continuance of arbitrary discord; indeed, this tendency remained as a characteristic and a reproach in the native English methods even until the middle of the following century, when composers were still to be found—Pygott, the master of Wolsey's Chapel, among them—who employed them without shame[1].

If then we may be allowed to assume the existence in the fifteenth century of two distinct branches of the English school, one practising abroad and the other at home, it is with the members of the advancing foreign branch that Dunstable must be associated, since his work, similar to theirs in technique, exists also practically entirely in foreign collections[2]. The benefits therefore which his genius conferred upon the art of music were bestowed apparently in an alien school, nor indeed do we gather, either from anything that is known of his life, or from the disposition of his remaining works, that (except perhaps in his earliest years) he ever practised in this country. Born about 1390, and educated presumably among the makers of the music described by Guilelmus Monachus, he was evidently firmly established abroad and recognized as the benefactor of foreign music between 1436 and 1444, the period during which Martin le Franc wrote his eulogistic verses. But as regards England, not only is there no obvious trace of his influence here, either during his life or after his death—until indeed it was exerted in this country in the shape of Flemish teaching—but it would be difficult even to show proof that from the time of his departure from this country until his return to die or to be buried here, his name was so much as known in the land of his birth.

[1] See Morley's examples, *Plaine and Easie Introduction*, &c., p. 137 (Reprint).

[2] Mr. H. Davey has already suggested the supposition of Dunstable's prolonged absence from this country in his *History of English Music* (no date). The fact that music by Leonel Power is to be found both in the foreign collections and, in considerable quantity, in the Old Hall MS. also, might be explained upon the hypothesis of the composer's return to this country, to practise here.

France and the Gallo-Belgic Provinces.

The tradition established by Machault in France continued apparently from the time of his death, about 1370, onwards through the first quarter of the fifteenth century, with but little alteration. In the second quarter, however, that is to say about 1435, we become aware of the existence of a considerable movement, the premonitory indication of change, displayed chiefly in a large and important increase in the number of composers; and this not only in France, but also and more especially in the neighbouring territories of Burgundy, which now included Belgium and the rest of the Low Countries.

Two circumstances may have contributed to create this movement. On the one hand we may remember that Belgian singers were now already beginning to be employed together with the French in the Papal choir, and that the passing to and fro of possible candidates, and of others attracted by the new conditions in Rome, would naturally become the occasion of a constant interchange and circulation of musical ideas throughout Western Europe; on the other hand, we may recognize the existence of important bodies of local musicians, both in the principal cathedrals and in the chapel of Philip the Good, by whom a new impulse, if once communicated to them, would be systematically continued and developed.

The first distinct sign of movement is to be found, so far as we know at present, in a collection, consisting chiefly of songs, sacred and secular, now in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, and marked *MSS. Canonici, misc.* 231[1]. The pieces constituting this collection were brought together apparently not later than 1436, and were for the most part composed during the ten years immediately preceding that date; but the MS. also contains

[1] A critical account of part of this MS. by the late Sir John Stainer, with extracts translated by Mr. J. R. F. Stainer and Miss Stainer, and an introduction by Bodley's Librarian, was published in 1898 (Novello).

works which may have been produced as early as the beginning of the second decade of the century. The collection, moreover, is connected with the practice of the later fourteenth century by its inclusion of works by J. Césaris and Zacharias the Italian Papal singer—both of whom, if we are not mistaken, we have already met with, the former among the followers of Machault in the Chantilly MSS.[1], and the latter in the Florentine collections of the work of Landini and his school[2]; while it also belongs, to a certain extent, to the period which was now to follow, from the very considerable number of compositions by Dufay and Binchois which are contained in it.

The work in fact represents a period of transition, in preparation for the great change which was imminent. The actual methods of composition are indeed still but little altered from the fourteenth-century practice, but the old harshness is often partially reduced, and the attempt towards fullness and impressiveness of sound is more frequent than before; the real nature, however, of the impending change, which was not to arise naturally out of the suggestions of the material itself, was still far from being discerned, since the authors of these songs had not as yet apparently encountered the English musicians, from whom they were to receive the sweet and pure methods of the free *faulx bourdon* discant. This we may gather not only from the character of their music, but also from the fact that among the sixty composers whose names are to be found in this collection we meet with Frenchmen, Belgians, and Italians, but no Englishman. It is noticeable that the collection was continued apparently up to the very eve of the foreign recognition of Dunstable and his followers; for accepting the year 1436, upon the authority of Bodley's Librarian, as the latest date of any composition in the book, and the limits 1436-44 which Mr. Stainer gives for the date of Martin le Franc's poem *Le Champion des Dames*, it is clear that the important events to

[1] See *ante*, p. 40. [2] See *ante*, p. 62.

which the French author refers as contemporary[1] must have been imminent when this MS. was finished.

Chief among the contributors to this collection are the members of the Papal choir—Dufay, Brassart, Arnold de Lantins, Malbeque, Fontaine, Grenon, Hasprois, Liberth, Loqueville, Binchois (second Rector of the Duke of Burgundy's Chapel), Ciconia, Hugo de Lantins, &c. The names of Tapissier, Carmen, and Cesaris, just mentioned in our note, occur in the MS.; and in order to show the kind of accomplishments which *ébahirent tout Paris* examples of Carmen, Cesaris, and Binchois are now given, together with a comparatively early work by Dufay, dated 1425, three years before his first appointment to the Papal choir. In all these examples the dry melody, and the arbitrary discords which sometimes render whole passages unintelligible, are to be found; they are indeed characteristic of the entire collection, and probably no specimen that might be shown could be said to be entirely free from them.

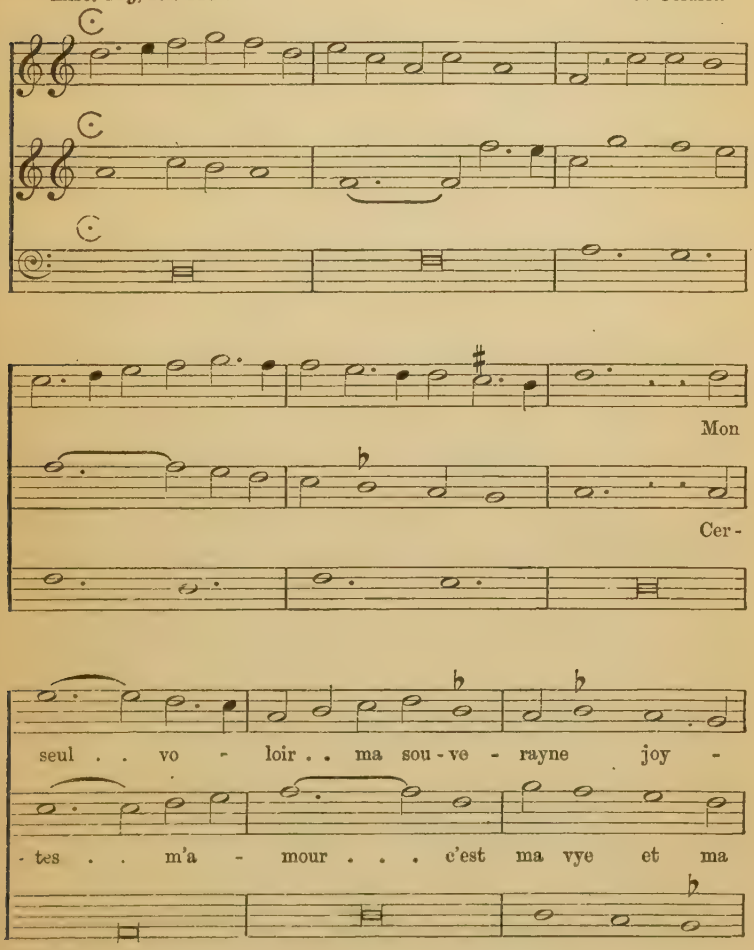
The work of Cesaris given as our example is remarkable chiefly for its cacophony, not altogether surprising indeed in a pupil of Machault; that of Carmen, however, is interesting from its fugal form, which may be considered as of the Italian species, for it will be noticed that the statement of the subject is accompanied by a non-fugal passage, as in the madrigal by Zacharias (see *ante*, p. 62), but here in two parts. The song by Binchois is remarkable for its clearly instrumental opening; indeed we may even perhaps suppose, from the appearance of a similar treatment at the end of the first line of text, that the instrumental accompaniment doubled the voices throughout. Dufay's early

[1] 'Tapissier, Carmen, Cesaris,
N'a pas long temps (si) bien chantèrent
Qu'ilz esbahirent tout Paris
Et tous ceulz qui les fréquentèrent:
Mais oncques jour ne dechantèrent
En mélodie de tel chois,
Ce m'ont dit qui les escoutèrent,
Que Guillaume du Fay et Binchois.
Car ilz ont nouvelle pratique
De faire frisque concordance
En haulte et en basse musique,
En fainte, en pause, et en muance,
Et ont pris de la contenance
Angloise, et ensuivy Dunstable;
Pourquoy merveilleuse plaissance
Rend leur chant joyeulx et notable.'

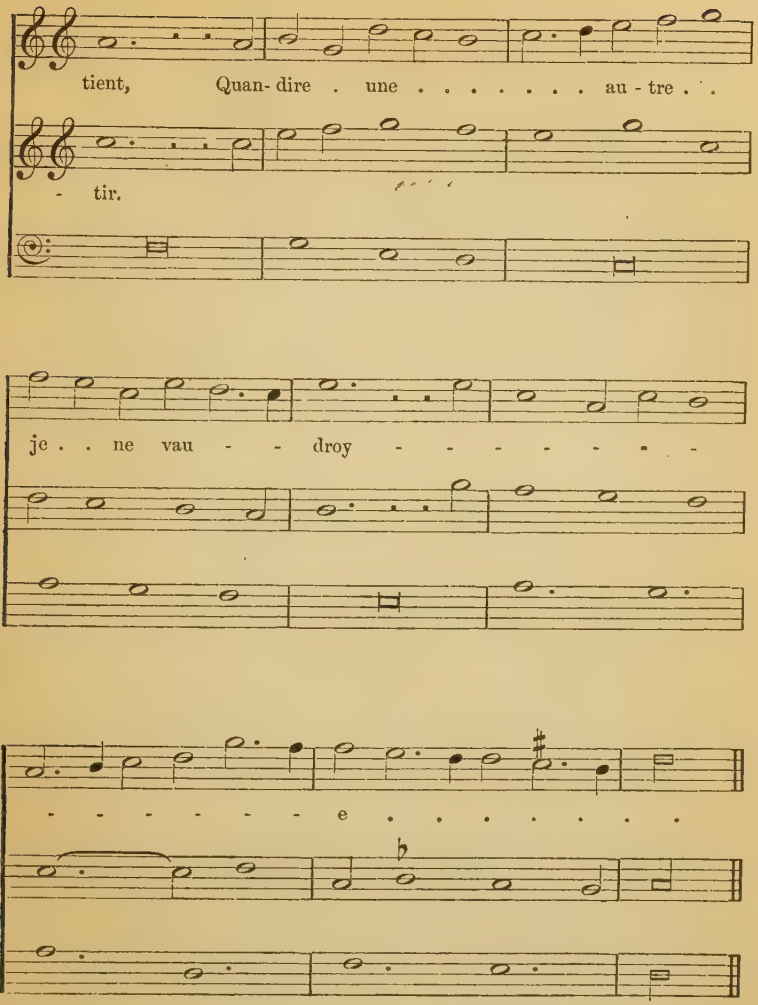
work also contains a passage of the same kind, to be played apparently between the two couplets and at the close; and here again the voices could perhaps be doubled by instruments. The curious opening of this song is noticeable; the harmony in beginning has the lowest note in the highest part.

Mon seul voloir.

Bodl. Lib., MSS. Canonici, misc. 213, fol. 122a. J. Cesaris.



- e,
joy - - - - - - - - - e, . . .
. . . . . Tout le . . plai - sir . .
. . . . . Que quant je . . .
que . . . . . j'ay . de vous . me . . vient, Pour
say ton doulx cuer en . . . plai - sir . Que
quoy . . mon . cuer si très joy - eux . . se
je . . . dé - sir . . . . ve - ir sans dé - par -

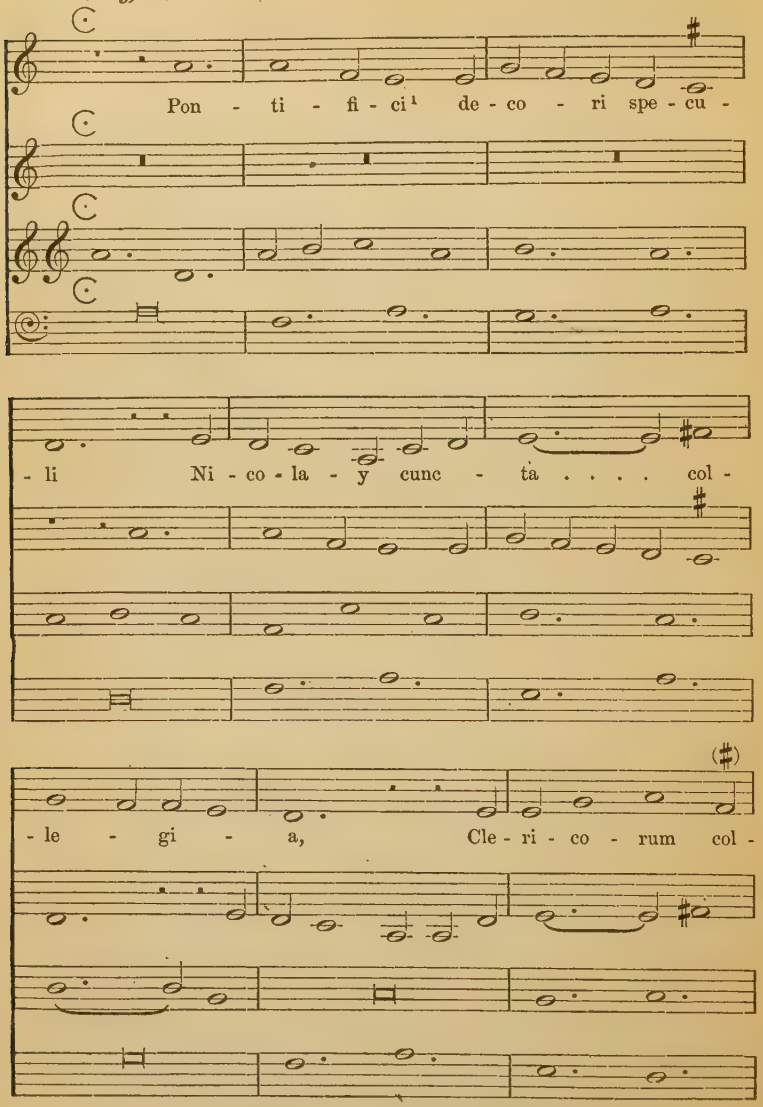

tient, Quan- dire . une . . . . . au - tre . .
- tir.
je . . ne vau - - droy - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - e . . . . . .

Fugue.

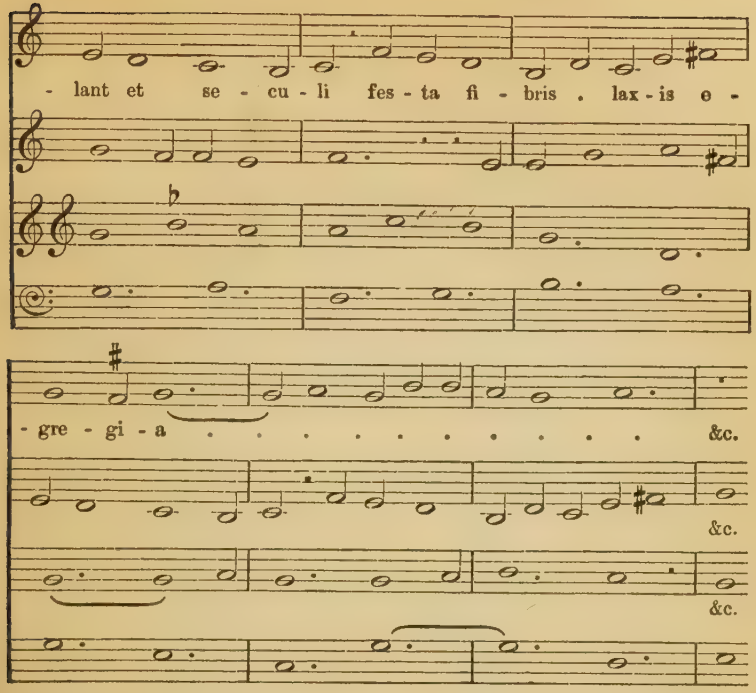
PONTIFICI DECORI.

Bodl. Lib., MSS. Canonici, misc. 213, fol. 26v.

Iohannes Carmen.

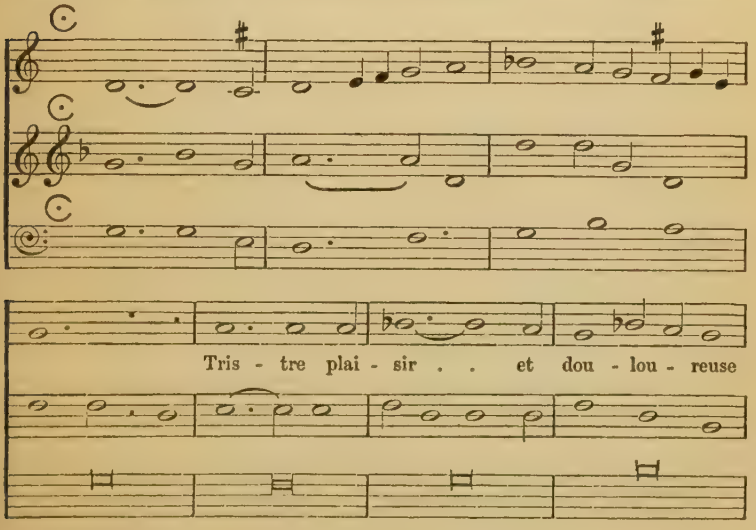


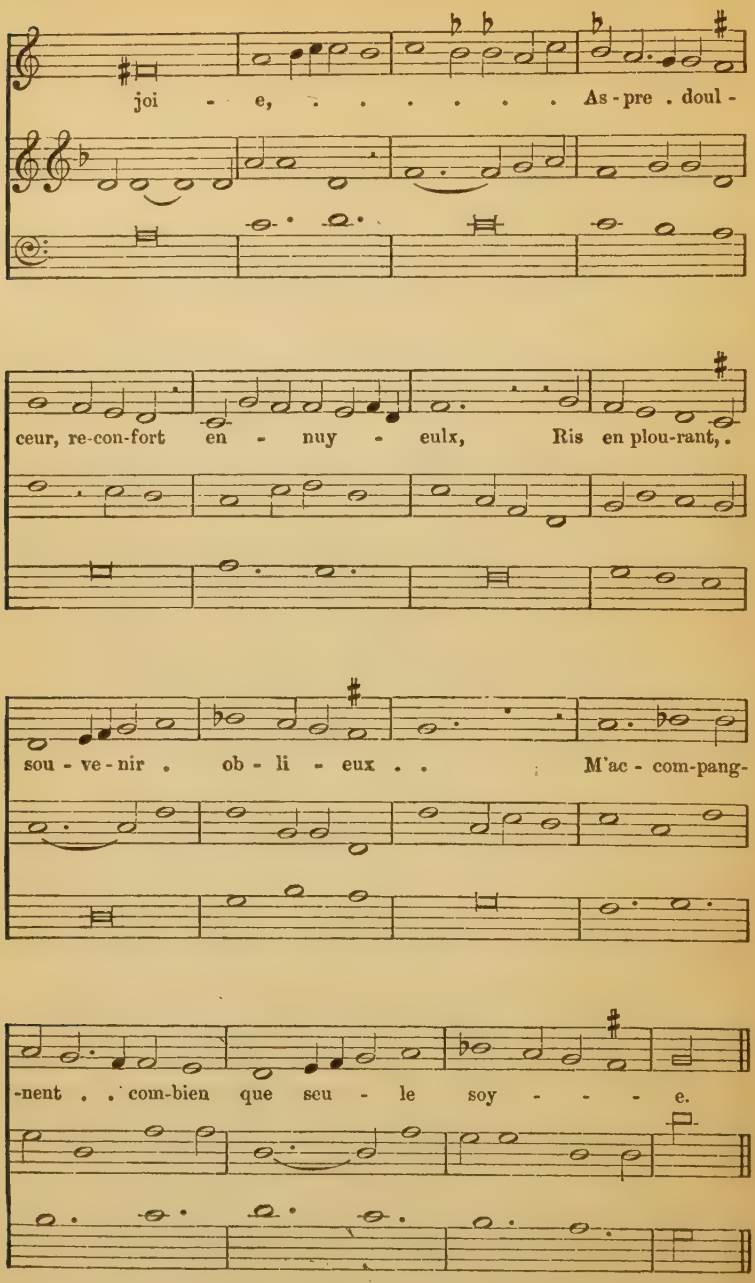
[1] Words printed as in original throughout.



Bodl. Lib., MSS. Canonici, misc. 213, fol. 56v.

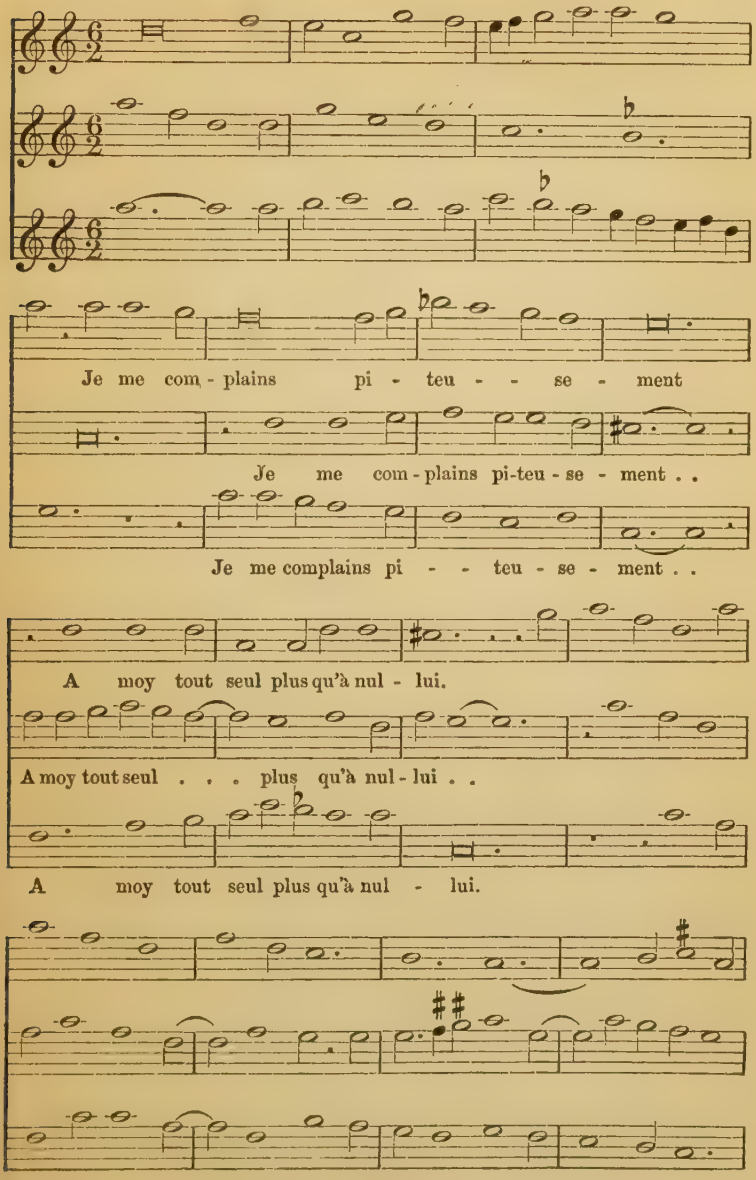
TRISTRE PLAISIR. Binchois.

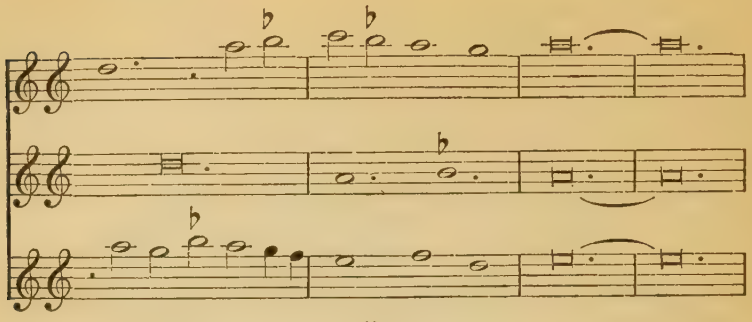



joi - e, ... As - pre . doul -
ceur, re-con-fort en - nuy - eulx, Ris en plou-rant, .
sou - ve - nir . ob - li - eux . . M'ac - com-pang-
-nent . . com-bien que seu - le soy - - - - e.

JE ME COMPLAINS.

Bodl. Lib. MSS. Canonici, misc. 213, fol. 18a. Dufay, dated July, 1425.


Je me com - plains pi - teu - - se - ment
Je me com - plains pi-teu - se - ment . .
Je me complains pi - - teu - se - ment . .
A moy tout seul plus qu'à nul - lui.
A moy tout seul . . . plus qu'à nul - lui . .
A moy tout seul plus qu'à nul - lui.



ii.

De la griesté, paine e tourment
Que je suffre plus que ne di.

In 1436 Dufay was appointed Canon of Cambrai, and resigned his post in the Pope's choir in the year following; shortly afterwards he became also Canon of Mons and Prebendary of Bruges. He fixed his residence at Cambrai, where as a boy he had been a chorister, and notwithstanding some journeys, remained there during his life.

From the time of his settling at Cambrai probably may be dated the beginning of his second style of composition. In this style, in which he continued while he lived, we find nothing of the former methods remaining; no more dryness in the melody nor intolerable harshness of arbitrary discord are to be heard, but we perceive a new conception of music altogether, similar to that with which we have become acquainted already in the works of Dunstable and his followers. We recognize, unmistakably, the suave and flowing melody in the separate parts, the pure harmony of the whole, the agreeable phrasing, the propriety in the sequence of the combined sounds, which we noticed as characteristic of the compositions of our own countrymen in the foreign collections during this period. From 1446 onwards, probably, Dufay was engaged upon the work of completing the applicability of this new art to all kinds of composition, but especially, as it would seem, for the benefit of his own church of Cambrai. In 1453 his munificence in this respect was acknowledged by the

Chapter, while between 1459 and 1470, which was the year of his death, 'Masses, Antiphons, Hymns, and Magnificats' were produced by him, and copied into the choirbooks of the cathedral, apparently continuously.

Compositions in all these forms, here mentioned from the records of payment to the copyist, are now to be found in the various codices containing works of this period at Vienna (from Trient), Modena, and Bologna, and at Rome in the archives of St. Peter's and of the Papal Chapel; and from these sources we may gather some idea of the methods now employed in the treatment of these principal features of the divine worship.

The Mass is of course, for Dufay as for others, the subject of the greatest care, thought, and effort in composing. His methods here, it may be said, are upon the whole adopted apparently from Dunstable; but while he constantly employs the device, also frequent with Dunstable, of different measures proceeding together, we also find a far greater use of the canon, both long and short, in his work than in that of his model. The English indeed, as has been said, made at this time little or no use of the canon in serious music, while in the schools from which Dufay's first method was derived it was already common, though lightly considered; but it is evident that Dufay now perceives in it a certain importance, and although he never allows the subject of the canon to stand alone, that is to say without an extraneous accompaniment, he is so much impressed by this importance that he uses canon frequently and as a leading device. Often also he combines it with the older proportional devices, as in the *Gloria* and *Credo* of the Mass *Se la face ay pale*, in both of which the theme appears first as a short canon or imitation in the two upper parts, in perfect time, and afterwards in long notes for the tenor in the minor mode perfect, the higher voices continuing in their original measure. In the Hymns and Magnificats, on the other hand, no devices appear; a moderately floreated counterpoint to the subject, which is itself also from time to time somewhat broken, is all that the composer

allows, and in the harmony the simple sounds of the old *faulx bourdon*, which was always considered appropriate to the Psalms and Hymns of the office, are frequently perceived. In all these forms, however, beautiful as is often the result of the methods employed, the primary and fundamental dependence of the composition upon a given theme, not in itself intended to be musically effective, is a source of weakness; the sustaining framework is not obvious, nor even seen as fulfilling an aesthetic purpose, and the stream of exquisite sound, therefore—which, notwithstanding the frequent bare octaves and fifths, is the principal characteristic of the music of this period—is not more satisfying than an address in some mellifluous unknown tongue would be. But the means, of course, which were to supply the needed strength had not yet appeared. There was no perception as yet of the idea of rational harmonic progression as in itself sufficient to satisfy the hearer, nor of the still greater power of those apparently trifling devices, canon and imitation, which can create inexhaustible schemes of musical thought of the most profound and ever-varying interest.

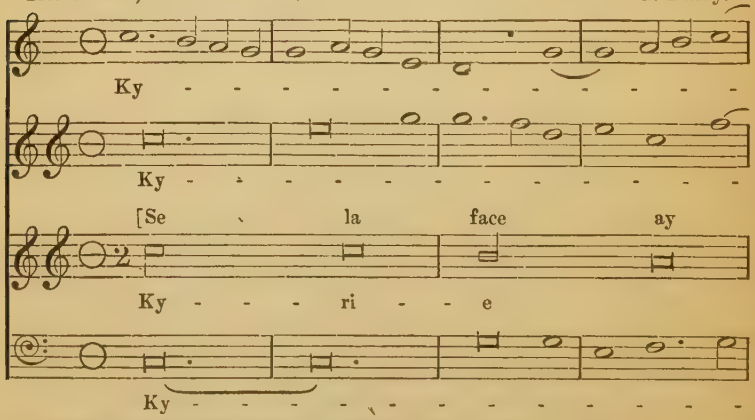
MASS.

Se la face ay pale.

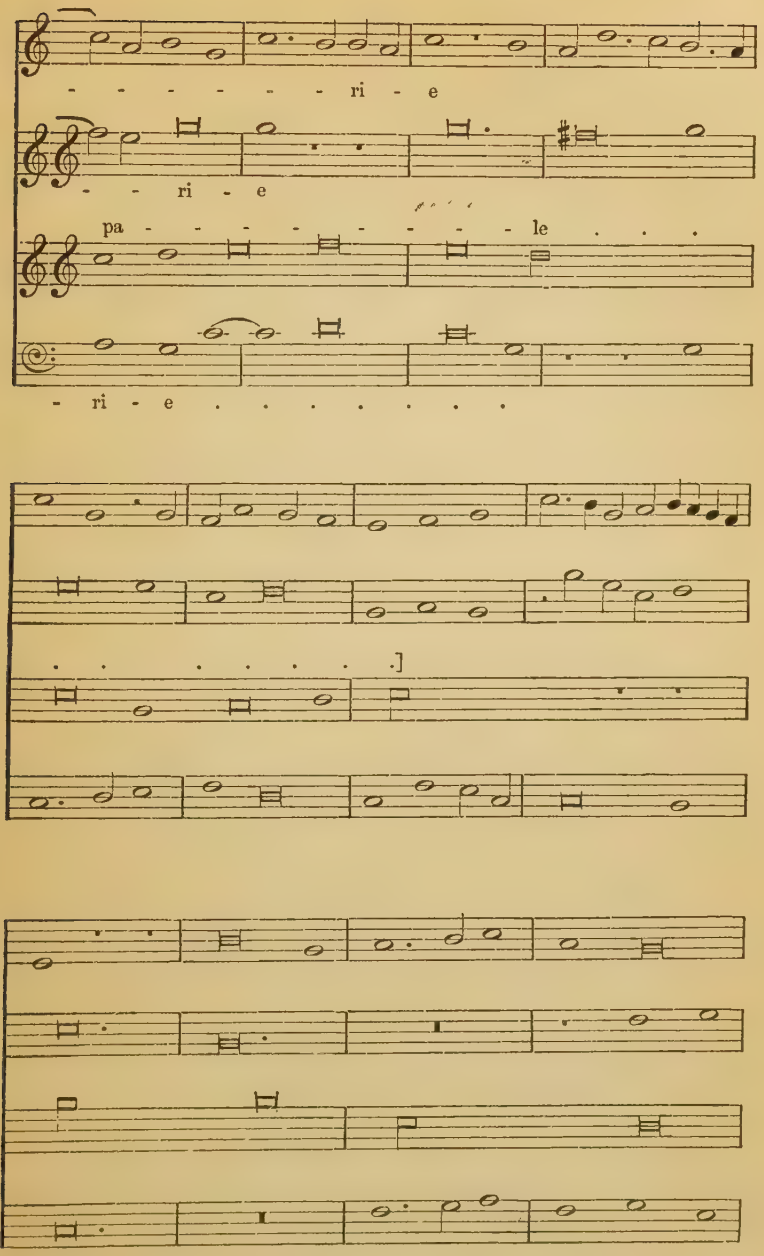
Sistine Chapel Lib., 14, 25[1].
Trient MSS., Cod. 88.

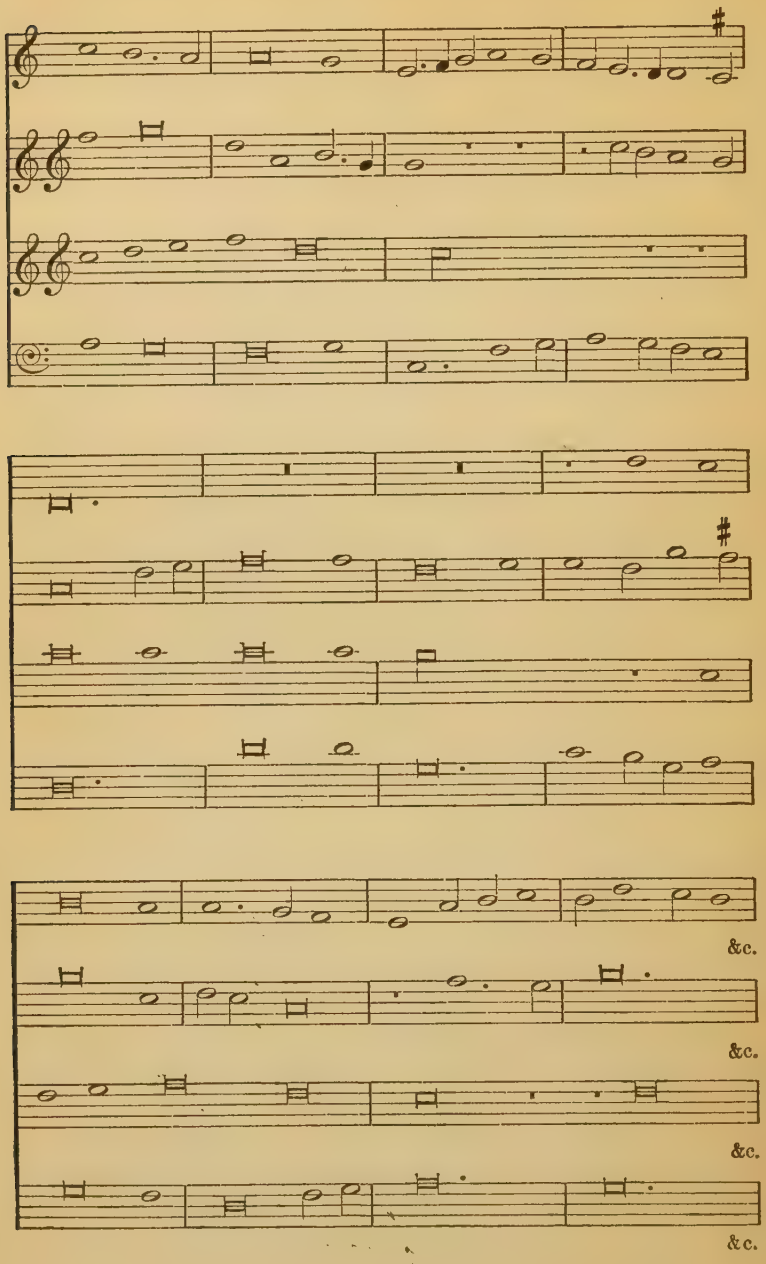
KYRIE.

G. Dufay.



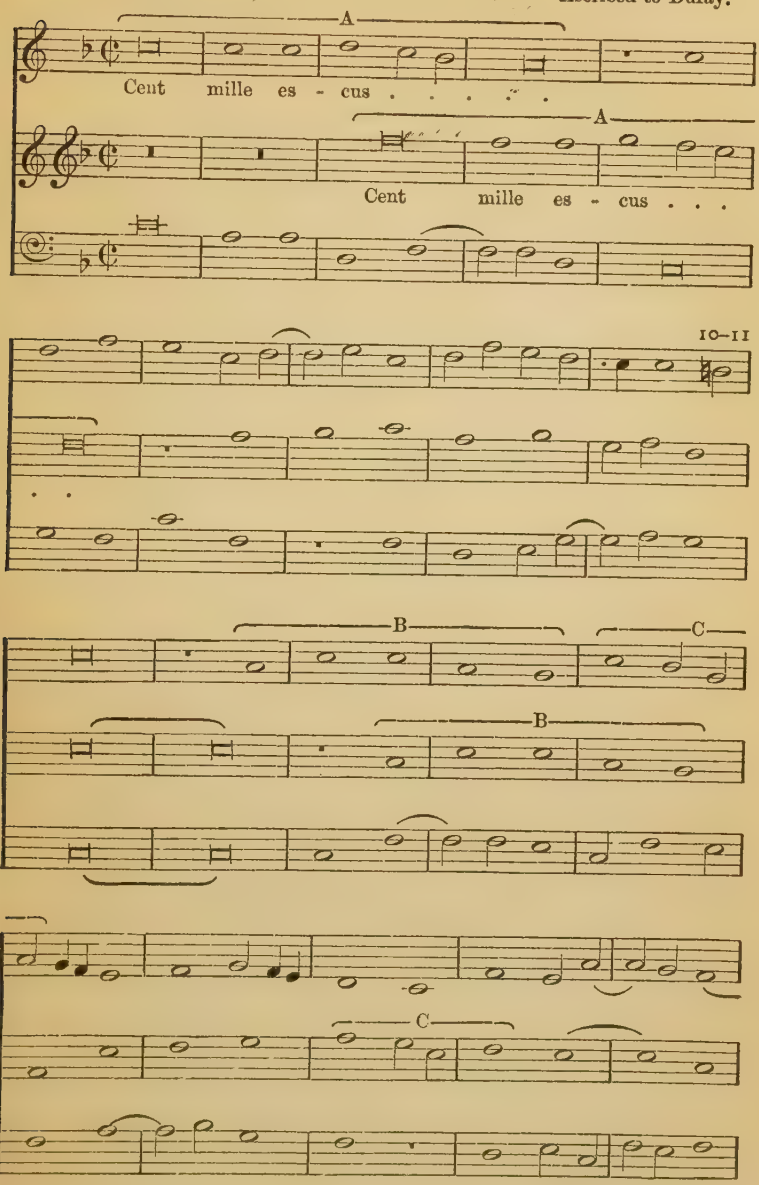
[1] Printed by Rochlitz, *Sammlung vorzüglicher Gesangstücke, &c.*, 1838–40 : 3 vols.

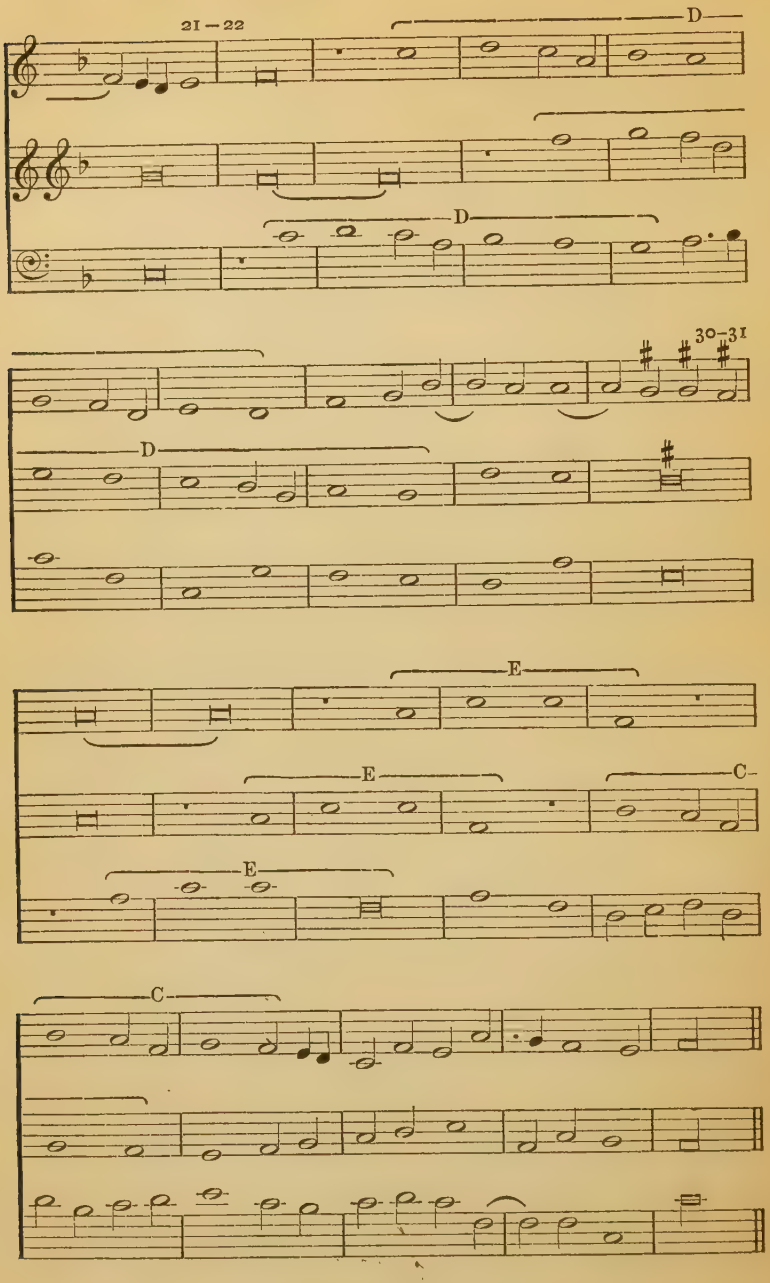

- - - - - - - ri - e
- - ri - e
pa - - - - - - - - - le . . .
- ri - e . . . . . .


&c.
&c.
&c.
&c.

Cent mille escus.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Ascribed to Dufay.




21–22
D
D
30–31
D
E
E
C
E
C

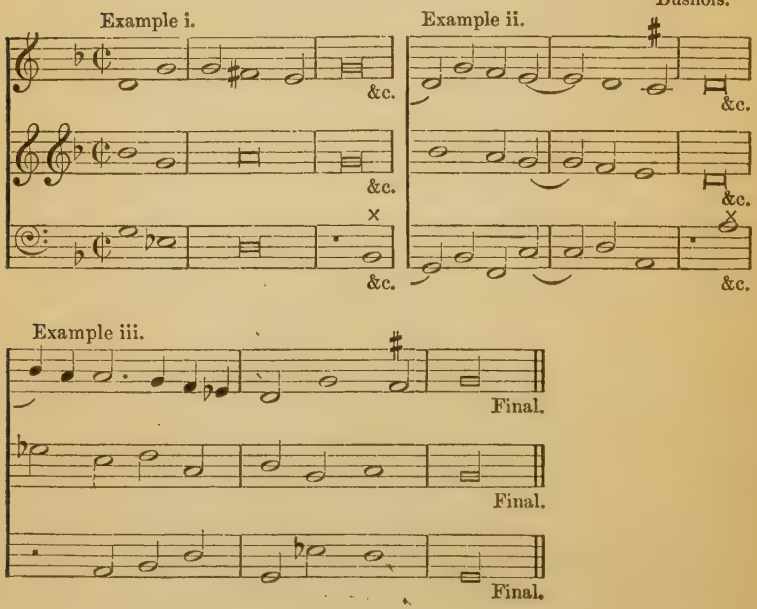
The song *Cent mille escus*, just given, is generally ascribed without question, upon the authority of a MS. in the Bibl. Nationale at Paris, to Dufay. It contains, however, important features which are absent from the methods of this composer, so far as we know them. The opening, indeed, in which a point of fugue is still accompanied by an extraneous accompaniment, would seem to be in his style, but the methodical arrangement of the points (as at B, D, E, in our example), each following immediately upon a full close, belongs to a somewhat later period, while the closes themselves reveal so great an advance beyond his habitual methods of construction and approach, that it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the composition may be a work of the younger generation, of some member probably of the later transitional school of Dufay's pupils—Busnois, or Caron, for instance. The advance which is seen in the closes is indeed of the utmost importance and may be described as follows. The descending portion of the cadence is now generally removed from its former invariable position in the lowest part, and is given to an upper voice, often to that immediately above, while its place in the lowest voice is taken by a progression of the fifth of the scale to the final. At the same time the sixth of the scale, which formerly in the rising portion of the cadence interposed immediately between the leading note and the final, now retires from that position; the passage, therefore, is now directly to the final from the leading note, which itself moreover usually appears as the resolution of a suspended fourth or eleventh above the bass. At one step therefore, and without any apparent transitional process, we find ourselves in definite possession of the essential harmonic elements of the perfect cadence, the subsequent theme of so many exquisite variations, in which the beauty of counterpoint is developed to its utmost limits. Sometimes indeed already in the works of Dufay and Binchois, as also in the examples of Guilelmus Monachus, these elements have appeared for a moment, tentatively and often incompletely introduced, but in every case they

have again disappeared beneath the habitual forms, at once resumed; here, however, it is clear that they occupy an assured position, and are repeated again and again with absolute confidence in their entire fitness for their purpose.

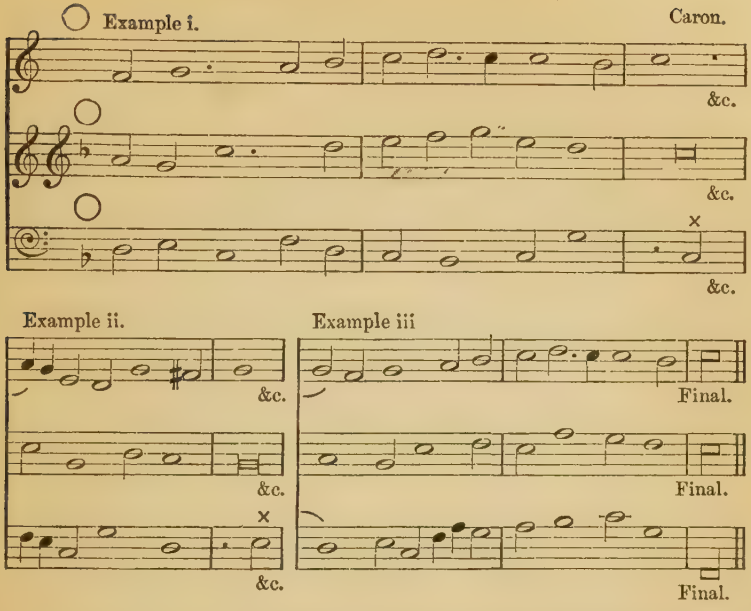
Another important point of resemblance to the later school visible in this work is also to be seen in the closes, in the conduct of the lowest part, at bars 21, 22 and 30, 31 of our illustration; here the bass is silent at the moment of the close, leaving the harmony to be completed by the upper parts, and, while these are holding the final note, he himself strikes out the beginning of a new passage of imitation. This method is of great value as a means of rhetorical effect, and was continued throughout the polyphonic period. Its appearance, together with that of the new cadence, occurring in *Cent mille escus*, may be profitably compared with that in the subjoined passages from songs by Busnois and Caron.

MON SEUL ET SANGLE SOUVENIR.

Busnois.



ACCOUEILLIE M'A LA BELLE.

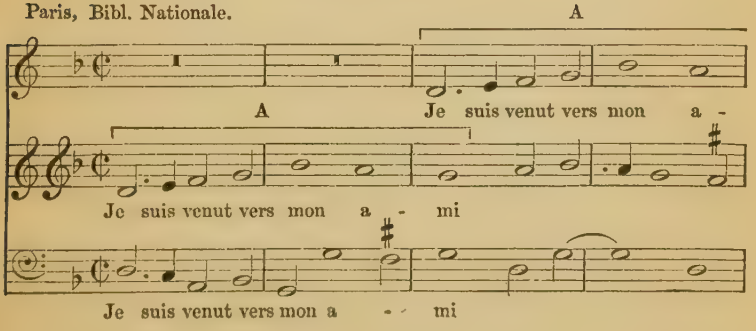


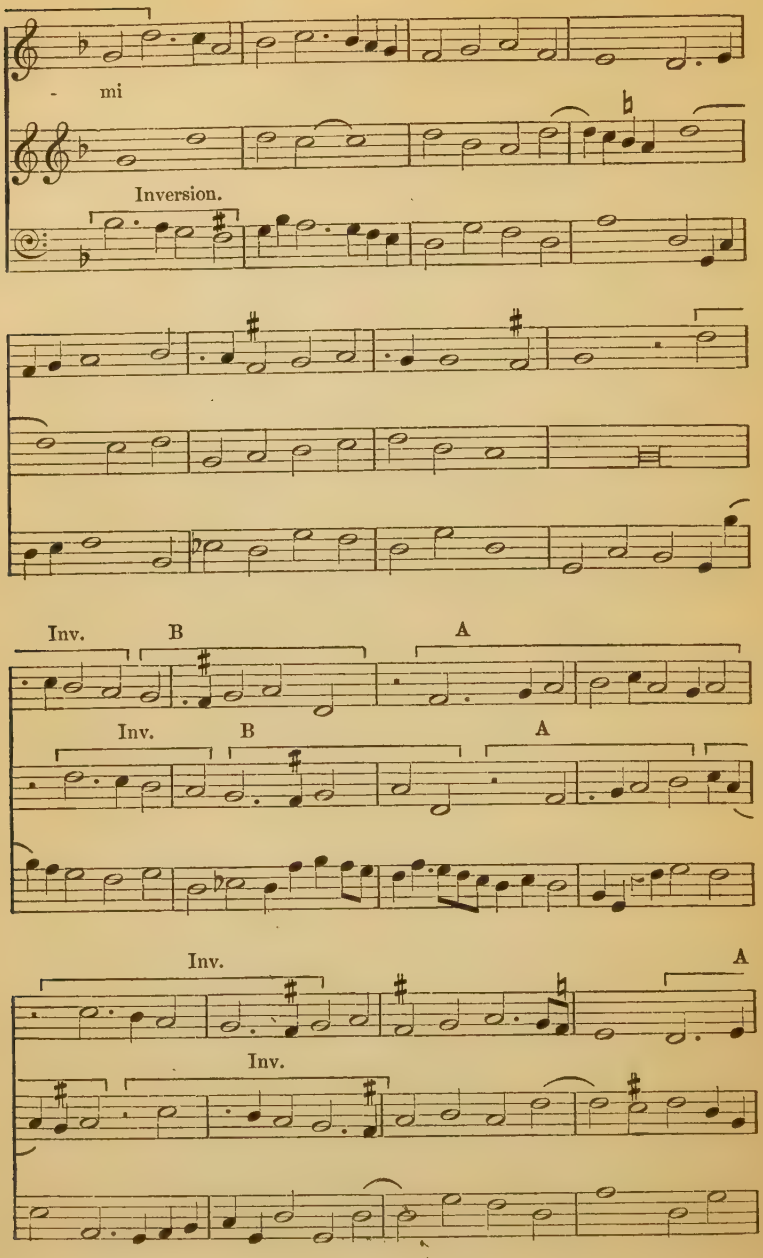
A complete example of the work of Busnois, which gives good proof of the steady development of canon during the generation which succeeded Dufay, is next given. It will be noticed that not only is the opening subject used throughout, but inversion is often attempted, and the concluding passage even begins with a kind of *stretto*.

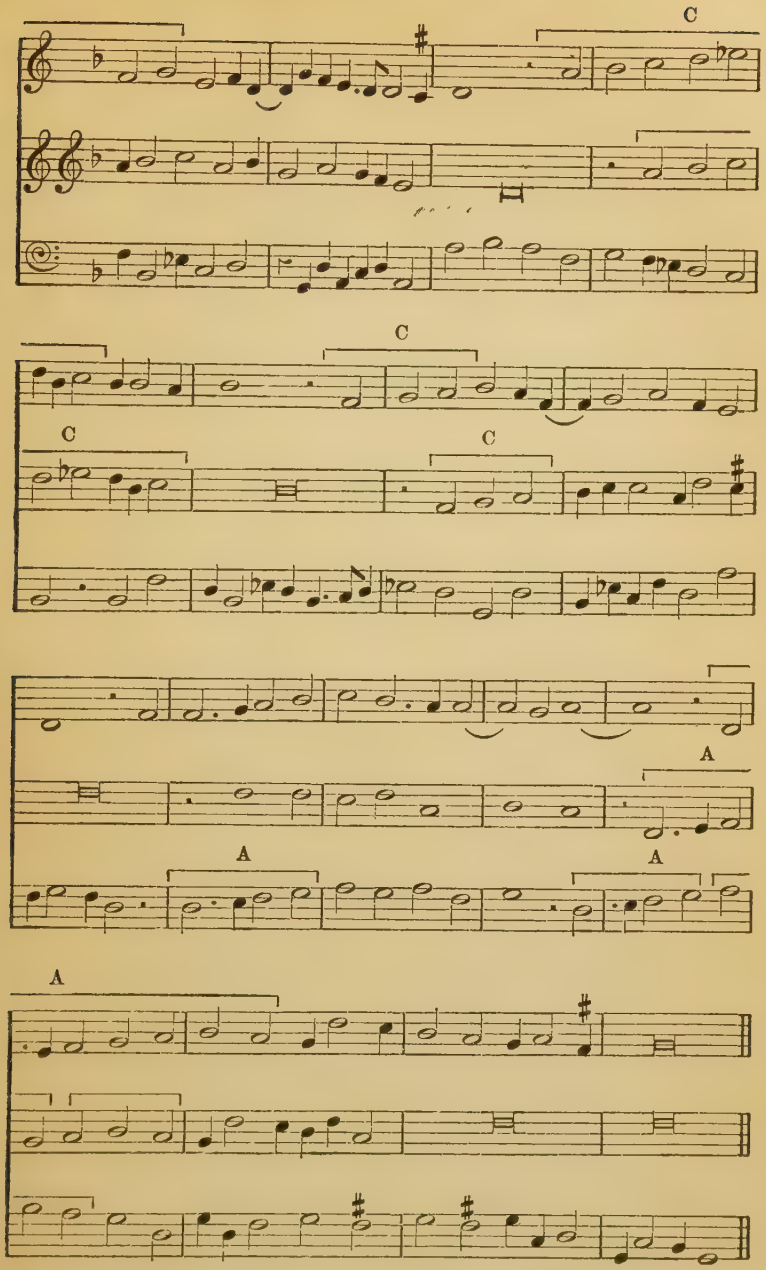
JE SUIS VENUT.

Ant. Busnois.

Paris, Bibl. Nationale.




- mi
Inversion.
Inv.
B
A
Inv.
B
A
Inv.
A
Inv.


C
C
C
C
A
A
A
A

Mention was made above of the existence of a transitional school arising among the younger pupils of Dufay and Binchois, and to this school Busnois and Caron were said to belong; we may now refer to two other pupils, Basiron and Obrecht, who together with J. Regis are usually thought to complete the number of its members. This school was not especially remarkable for a general identity of aim, but rather, as in most periods of transition, each man is seen as developing those among the newly received ideas which are most interesting to himself. Certain preferences, however, are certainly shared in the present case in common, though in varying degrees, by the members; by all, for instance, the improvement of canon and imitation, both in themselves as a contrapuntal device and also in their more rhetorical aspect, was attempted. Formerly, it will be remembered, the treatment of canon was almost entirely ineffective; either the composer wrote a long and somewhat purposeless passage of fugue in two of the upper parts, or he seized a passing and casual opportunity to imitate when it presented itself, and repeated the formula twice or thrice before abandoning it. Now, however, we perceive that the attention of composers has been arrested by the possibilities of methodical treatment which are contained in this device; the conduct of the point is now seen as demanding a certain measure of contrivance and forethought, in order that the hearer's attention may be not only aroused by its appearance but also rewarded by its development. The imitation, therefore, which was formerly confined to two of the voices, now often appears in all the parts, and the point is no longer answered only at the unison or octave but also at the fifth. The imitative subject itself also is presented in a short but striking musical sentence, and is made capable of appearing in more than one relation to its answer. In all these respects the merit of the example just given from the work of Busnois is conspicuous; the treatment also of the point by Obrecht in the *Agnus* subjoined, though slight, is not the less ingenious, and it may be remarked that in his work, apparently, we for the first time

find the subject uttered without support; the passage consists only of two breves, it is true, but the circumstance is in itself most important. The work of Basiron also is interesting, not only from its single point of imitation admirably treated in four parts, but also for the tendency which it reveals towards the use of massive plain chords, which may be observed in the beginning of his *Osanna*, here following. We see in this perhaps a somewhat early use of a grandiose effect; but the construction of chords was among the first discoveries of the school; it developed quickly, and before the end of the century masters such as Josquin and Brumel had arrived at a degree of perfection in its treatment which was only limited by the nature of the materials at their disposal.

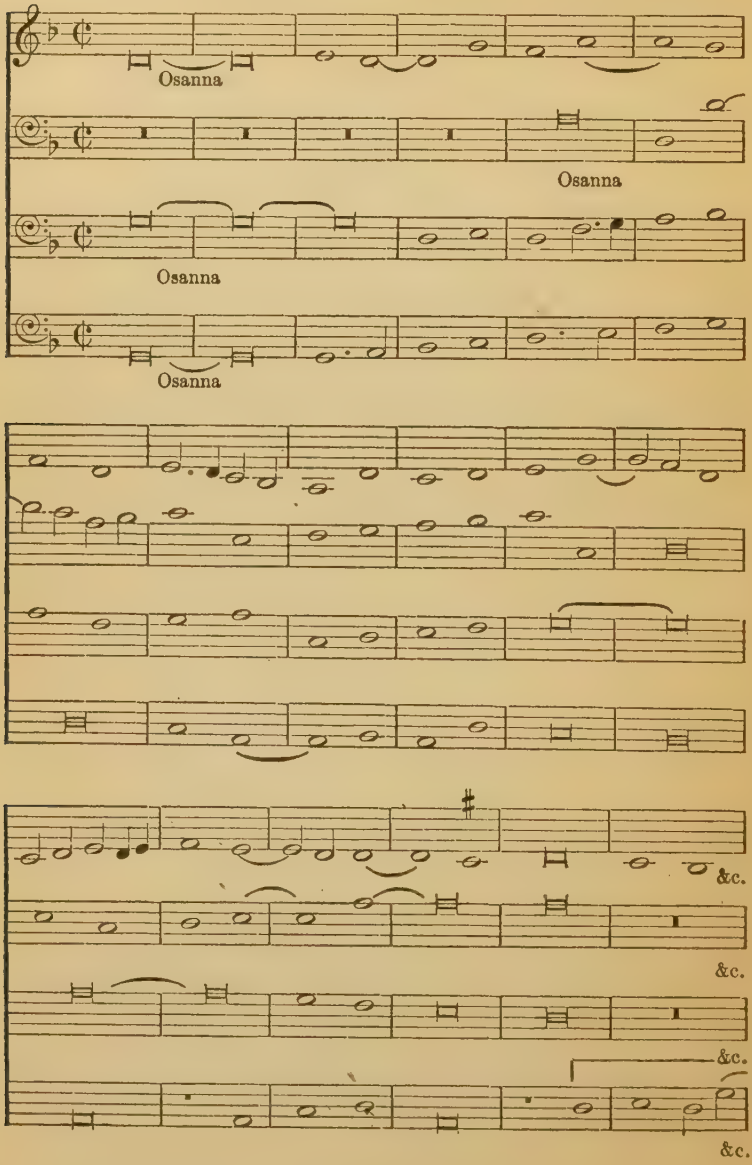
The *Agnus* by Obrecht, which has already been mentioned, is, apart from its introduction of passages of imitation, somewhat old-fashioned in its workmanship, being constructed upon a *Cantus Firmus* around which the contrapuntal parts are interlaced, developing the uninterrupted suavity which arises from the constant employment of pure concord. Much therefore of the composition is carried on by means of thirds, sixths, and tenths, and it thus resembles to some extent the work of Dunstable and Dufay, though the little fugues and fine cadences remind us from time to time that we are approaching the end of the century. In the motett, however, which has also been included among our examples—*Parce Domine*, there is no reference to an earlier period; we are conscious indeed, on the contrary, of a great advance in power and solidity of effect, and of an easy mastery of the material which suggests the full maturity of the composer's talent; its characteristics, in fact, are such in all respects as would favour its ascription to the latter years of Obrecht's life, years which he passed in Antwerp as the Maestro di Capella of the Cathedral.

Mass: De franza.

osanna.

Missarum diversorum auctorum liber primus.
Venice: Petrucci, 1508.

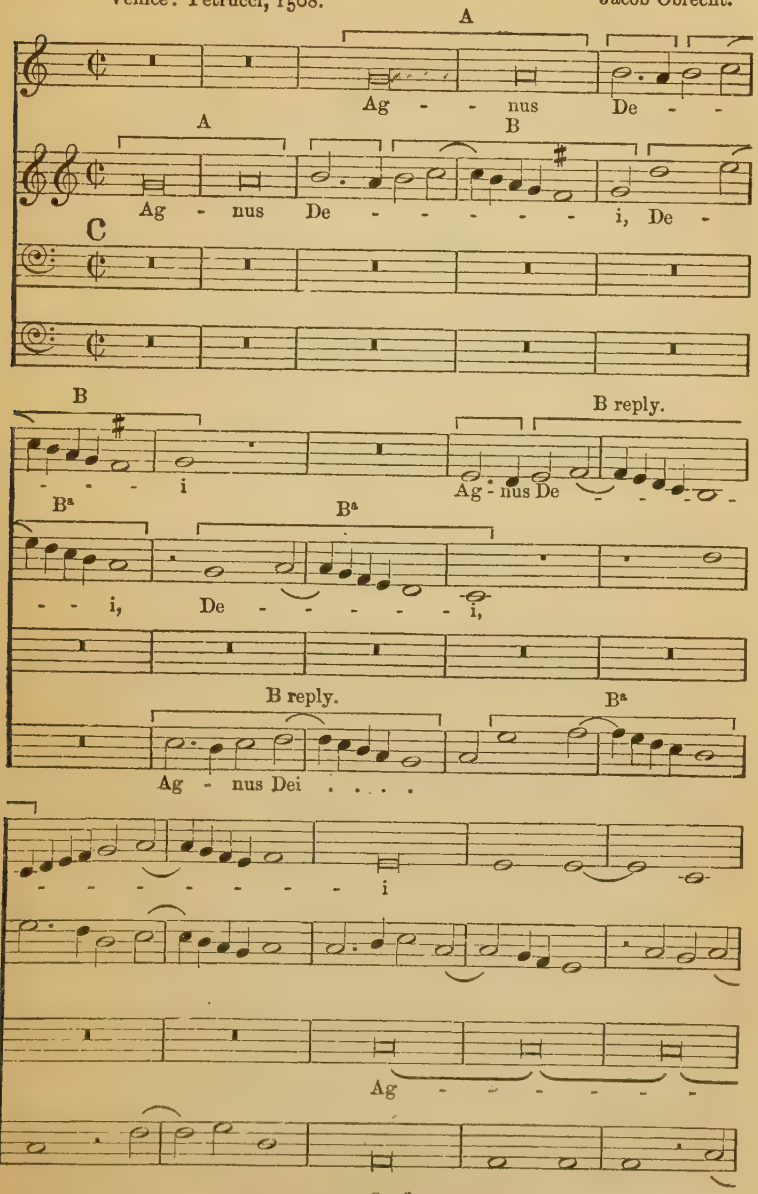
Philippus Basiron.

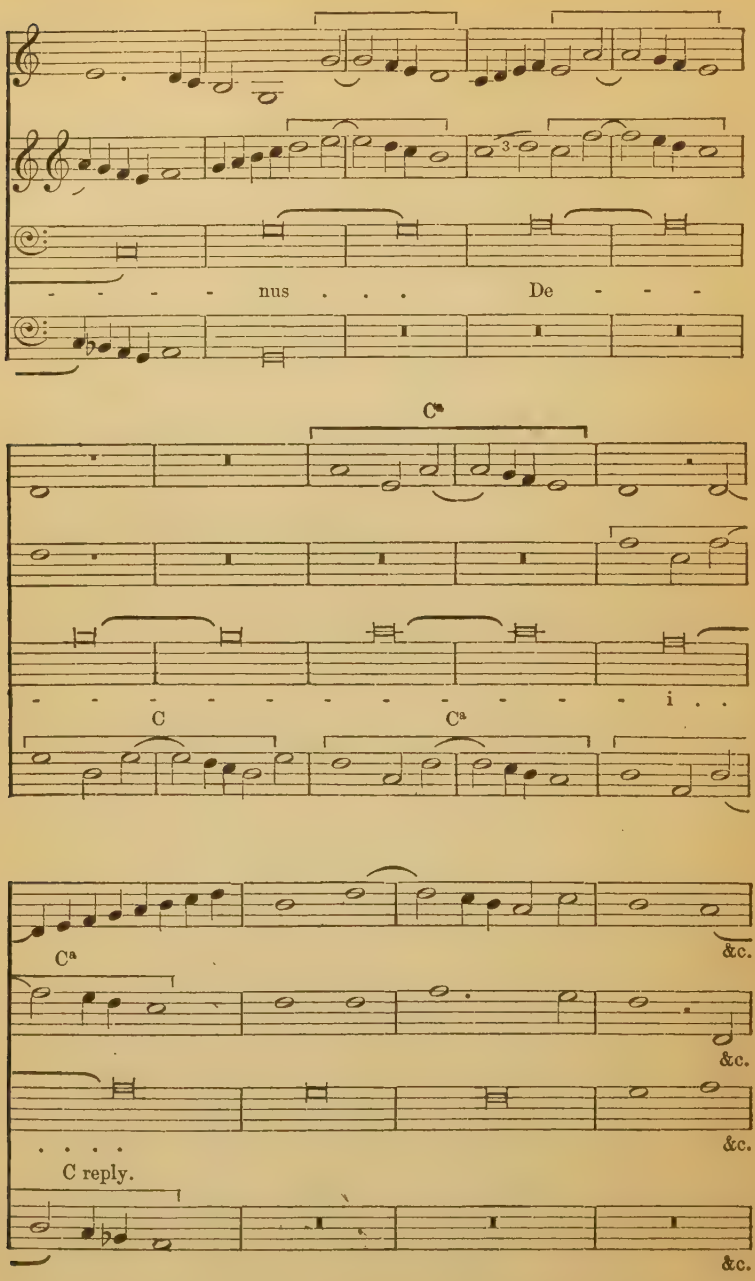


Mass: Si dedero.

AGNUS DEI.

Missarum diversorum auctorum liber primus.
Venice: Petrucci, 1508. Jacob Obrecht.



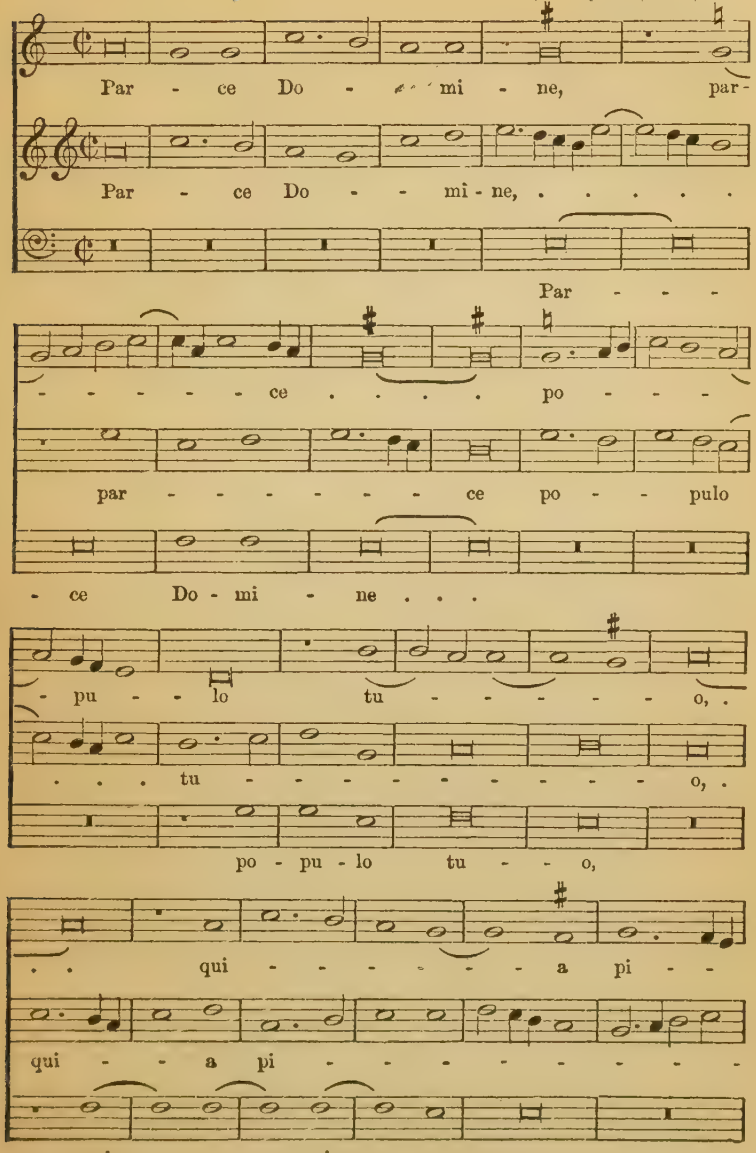

nus . . . De - - -
Ca
C
Ca
Ca
&c.
&c.
&c.
C reply.
&c.

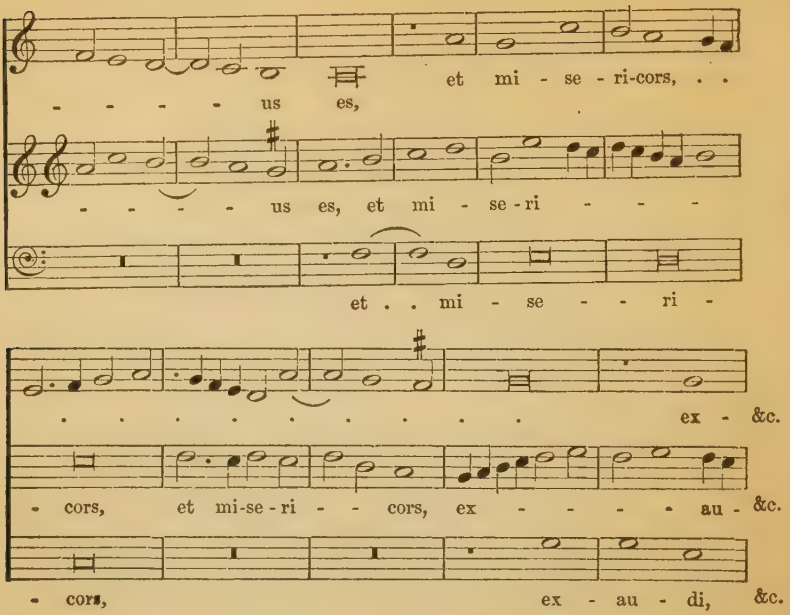
Motett.

From Glareanus, Dodecachordon, Basle, 1547, p. 260.

PARCE DOMINE.

Jacob Obrecht.

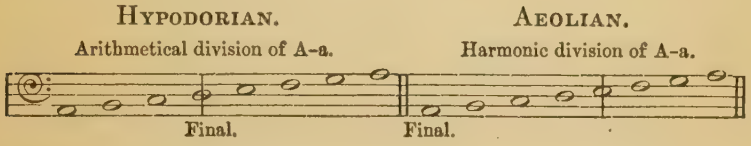




It will be observed that the noble melancholy which is the characteristic quality of this beautiful composition is largely due to the fact that it is written in the Aeolian mode. Indeed Glareanus himself gives the motett in his great work as a perfect example of the management of that mode, especially as regards the lowest part:—*Basis pulcherrime hunc habet modum*, he says. And certainly the treatment of this voice is most admirable; the sentiment of the whole is expressed in its broad sad phrases, alternating with periods of silence, each phrase proceeding to some appropriate close.

And here it will naturally be asked how it comes about that the Aeolian mode, which disappeared during the final stages of the mediaeval regulation of the modal system, is now again found in use. And to this it may be answered, in the first place, that the innovation itself is indeed more apparent than real; for in fact the Aeolian mode, though for many centuries theoretically absent from the system, was never practically out of

use. Its office was continued by the Dorian scale with a B♭, since this altered note, by its reduction of the Dorian sixth from major to minor, removed the single point of difference between the two scales. It is true that a scale of A already existed in the ecclesiastical system, but this could not perform the office of the Aeolian, since it is arithmetically divided; that is to say, that in it the fourth, A–D, lies below the fifth, D–a; it is therefore a plagal scale. The Aeolian, on the other hand, is harmonically divided, or, in other words, the fifth, A–E, lies below the fourth, E–a; its scale is therefore authentic. The difference may be seen in the example:



Having explained the actual condition of the Aeolian mode, down to the period at which we have now arrived, as a hidden but not disused scale, we may now say, in the second place, that its new and confident appearance in its true character was due to the composers, who were now, as in the present case of Obrecht's motett, beginning to adopt the proper manner of writing this scale, that is to say, no longer only as a fictive scale of D, but also untransposed in its natural situation. Moreover, and from a similar motive, the old Hypolydian scale of F with a B♭ was now often written more truly as a plain scale of C. This state of things continuing for about fifty years, Glareanus at length brought these empirical scales into regulation, giving once more to the scale of A its ancient name, and completing the circle of the modes by a still further appeal to the Greeks and an adoption of two of their transposition scales, under the names of *Locrius* and *Ionius* (or Iastius), for the corresponding scales of B[1] and C respectively.

[1] The Locrian scale of B was purely theoretical, and was of no use except to fill a place in the circle. Its fifth is of course imperfect and its fourth redundant.

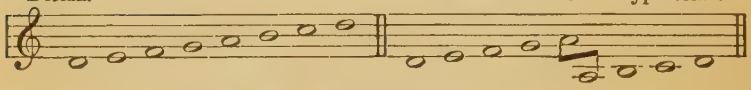
The transposition of modes, by means of the B♭, to a position a fourth above or a fifth below their original pitch—in which form, as has just been said, the Aeolian survived during the Middle Ages—was continued from motives of convenience, and became a recognized feature of the modern modal system. Each mode now therefore exists in two positions, original and transposed, the latter being always indicated by the appearance of B♭ at the signature.

Table of the Modern Modal System.

Scales of D.

Appropriate closes upon D, A, F, G.

Dorian. Hypodorian.



Transposed forms.

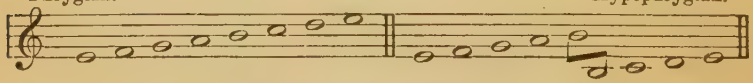
Appropriate closes upon G, B♭, C, D.

Dorian. Hypodorian.

Scales of E.

Appropriate closes upon E, A, G, C.

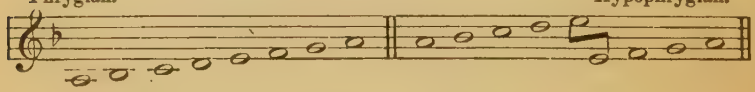
Phrygian. Hypophrygian.



Transposed forms.

Appropriate closes upon A, D, C, F.

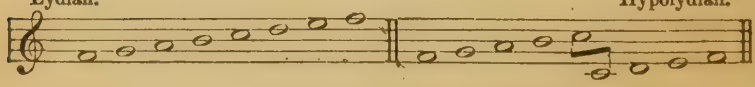
Phrygian. Hypophrygian.



Scales of F.

Appropriate closes upon F, A, C, G.

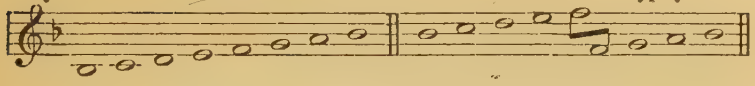
Lydian. Hypolydian.



TRANSPOSED FORMS.

Appropriate closes upon B♭, D, F, C.

Lydian. Hypolydian.



SCALES OF G.

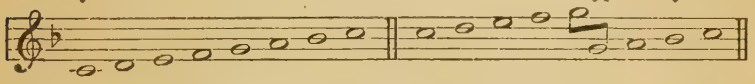
Appropriate closes upon G, A, C.

Mixolydian. Hypomixolydian.

TRANSPOSED FORMS.

Appropriate closes upon C, D, F.

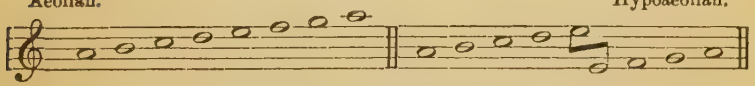
Mixolydian. Hypomixolydian.



SCALES OF A.

Appropriate closes upon A, E, C, G.

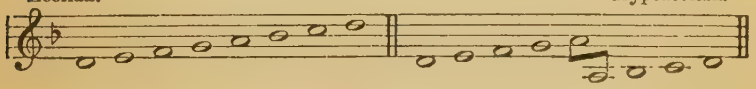
Aeolian. Hypoaeolian.



TRANSPOSED FORMS.

Appropriate closes upon D, A, F, C.

Aeolian. Hypoaeolian.



SCALES OF B.

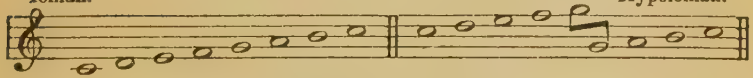
(Locrian.) (Hypolocrian.)

Not used.

SCALES OF C.

Appropriate closes upon C, G, A, D, F.

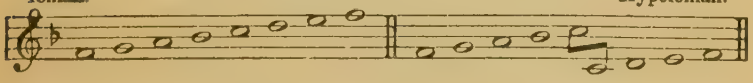
Ionian. Hypoionian.



TRANSPOSED FORMS.

Appropriate closes upon F, C, D, G, B♭.

Ionian. Hypoionian.



Before proceeding to notice the development of this system in simple straightforward kinds of composition, such as the motett by Obrecht which we have just seen, we have still to consider one other matter, closely connected with the music of the period which we are now examining, namely, the character of the formal devices which arise from an observation of the resources of the Proportional System. And this may now be attempted in the following section.

The Proportional System.

The classical doctrine of Ratio and Proportion, together with its application in the division of the monochord and the analysis of intervals, had been handed down by Boetius to the mediaeval theorists, and under the general name of Music had been in very early times adopted in all centres of learning as one of the Mathematical 'arts'; and this universal esteem, rather than any practical interest which it may have been thought to possess, may account for the fact that in all treatises upon Music, of any extent or importance, down even to the end of the sixteenth century, a description of it more or less complete was considered necessary.

The scope of the present work, which is confined to the practical part of music, does not admit of any full account of this doctrine; but since we have already noticed an instance of its actual application in the demonstration of the consonances by the division of the string (see *ante*, vol. i, p. 11), we may now also refer to the other practical use perceived in it, as a consequence of the invention of the *Cantus mensurabilis*, in which it provides, primarily, a means of expressing the relations which exist between the beat, or unit of the measure, in one voice, and the notes which constitute its equivalent, in the other.

But its use was not confined to this. We have already described the various combinations proper to the fourteenth-century system of measurement, in which new values arise

through binary and ternary division of existing rhythms, duple and triple; and we have seen that this system, though relatively limited, was sufficient for the needs of the time. The proportional system, as it was called, on the other hand, for which a use was now perceived in the definition of mensural relations, extended far beyond the bounds of practice and necessity, for it included in its theory not only the proportions now required of it, but every imaginable association of values, both possible and impossible to sing; and many of these now attracted the attention of musicians, and especially of the theorists.

The doctrine of 'Proportion'—or in the present connexion more properly 'Ratio'—distinguishes five genera, three simple and two compound. Our examination, however, need not extend beyond the first two of the simple division—the *genus multiplex* and the *genus superparticulare*; and each of these contains three species, which may be defined as follows:—

In Multiplex Ratio

the greater number contains the whole of the less either

Twice,	which gives the species	Dupla	= $\frac{2}{1}$	or	$\frac{4}{2}$	or	$\frac{6}{3}$	or $\frac{8}{4}$
or Three times,	,,	,,	Tripla	= $\frac{3}{1}$	or	$\frac{6}{2}$	or	$\frac{9}{3}$ or $\frac{12}{4}$
or Four times,	,,	,,	Quadrupla	= $\frac{4}{1}$	or	$\frac{8}{2}$	or	$\frac{12}{3}$ or $\frac{16}{4}$

In Superparticularis Ratio

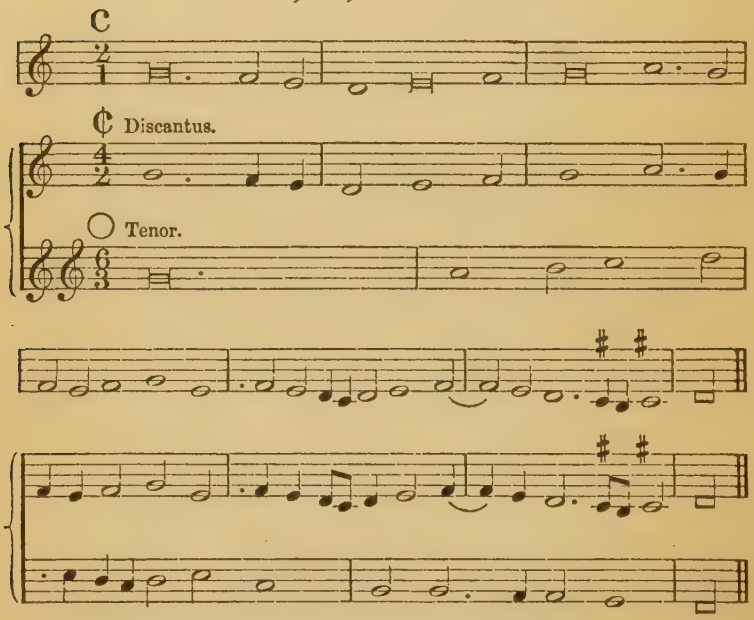
the greater number contains the smaller and its

Half,	which gives the species	Sesquialtera	= $\frac{3}{2}$	or	$\frac{6}{4}$	or	$\frac{9}{6}$	or $\frac{12}{8}$
or Third part,	,,	,,	Sesquitertia	= $\frac{4}{3}$	or	$\frac{8}{6}$	or	$\frac{12}{9}$ or $\frac{16}{12}$
or Fourth part,	,,	,,	Sesquiquarta	= $\frac{5}{4}$	or	$\frac{10}{8}$	or	$\frac{15}{12}$ or $\frac{20}{16}$

Strictly speaking, the ratios here shown, if translated into note values, imply of course notes of the same kind, or, in other words, the sign of Dupla, for instance, indicates that two semibreves, or their equivalent, are to be sung in the time of one. And this may be effected by singing the semibreves after the sign twice as fast as before, or, in other words, by diminishing

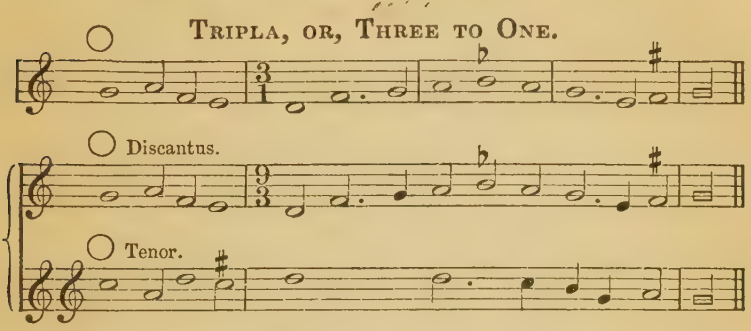
the value of the note in singing to half of that as written. In short, to quote Morley's definition,—'Dupla proportion in music is that which taketh half the value of every note and rest from it, so that two notes of one kind do but answer to the value of one.' In the following examples from Tinctoris the melody is first shown alone in its long notes, and afterwards as reduced to the proportional value, with a tenor. The first specimen, it will be noticed, affords an opportunity for the combination of two forms of Dupla, 4 to 2 and 6 to 3.

DUPLA, OR, TWO TO ONE.

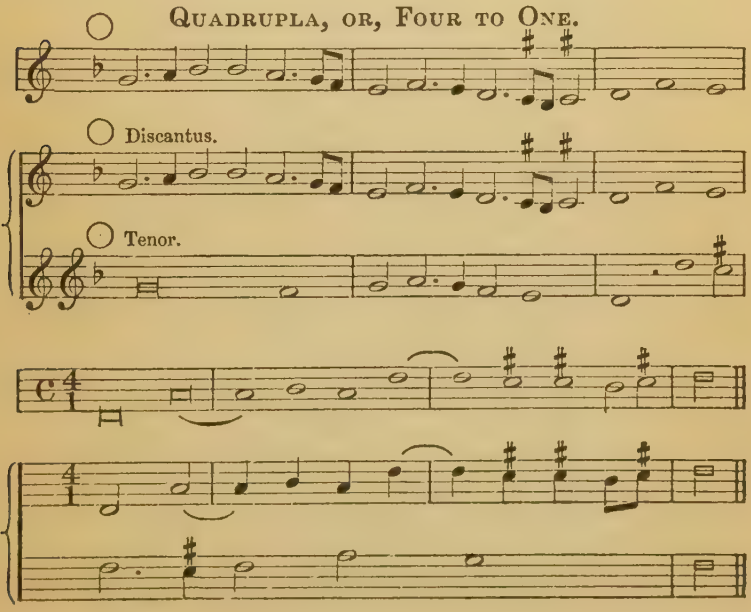


Tripla diminishes the value of notes to one-third of the original, so that three breves or three semibreves, respectively, become equal to one. In our example the three semibreves in each bar of the upper line, after the sign, are seen as reduced in the discant to minim value (one-third of the perfect semibreve), and as then put by the composer against one imperfect semibreve

or its equivalent. This is strictly correct, but it is also exceedingly difficult to sing. Morley complains that in his time the nature of true Tripla was often misunderstood, and that other kinds of triple measure, uncontrasted, also received the name without question, none being found to prötest.



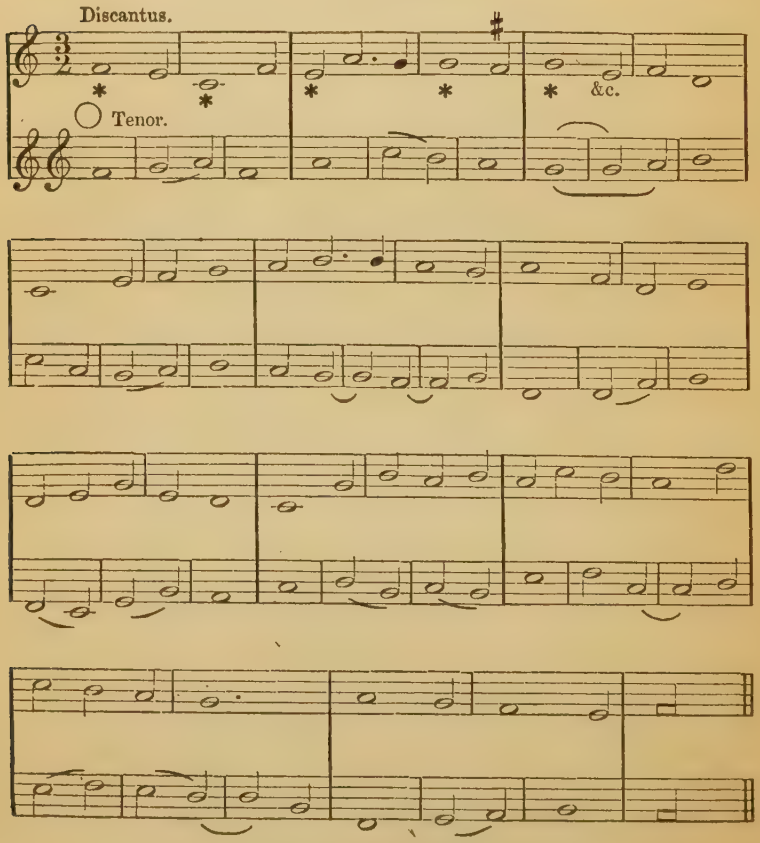
Quadrupla is of course very simple. It diminishes notes to a quarter of their former value, and in this form is seen in our modern common time.



The first species of the superparticular genus, Sesquialtera, represents the ratio 3 to 2, and is expressed in music by the singing of three imperfect semibreves, or their equivalent, against two of the perfect kind, or their equivalent; the perfect semibreve—or, as Morley prefers to call it, the semibreve and a half—constituting the full beat or stroke or bar of the measure.

Sesquialtera, or, Three to Two.

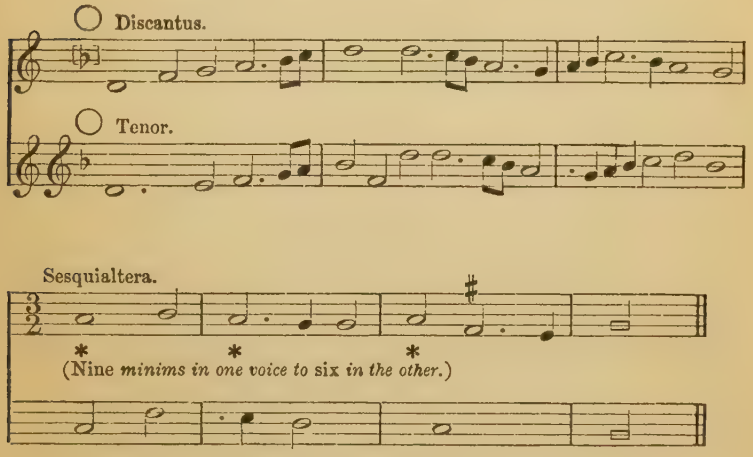
(Three imperfect semibreves in one voice against two perfect in the other.)



* The star indicates the beat.

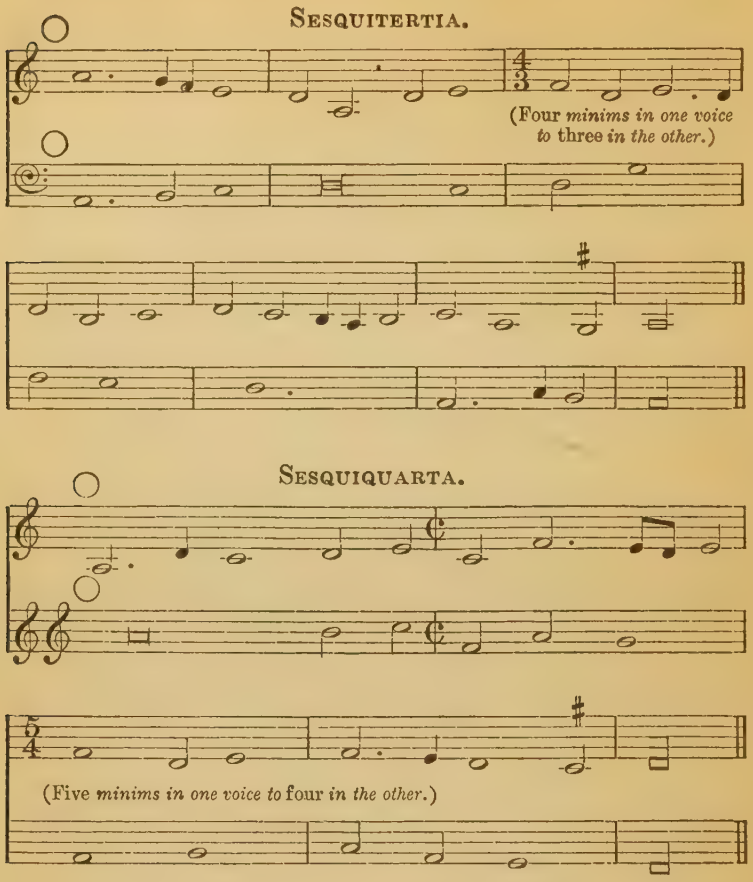
The doctrine laid down above is that of Morley, and the example is by Guilelmus Monachus. The effect of both is to create an identical value for each bar, in each voice, arrived at by a different method. In each large bar here, for instance, notwithstanding the conflicting rhythms, the number of minim values in each voice is six. In the examples given by Tinctoris, on the other hand, we perceive a totally different interpretation of the idea of this ratio; the number of the minim values in each voice is essentially different in each large bar, and the numbers are those of the ratio. Accordingly we have in his example a bar containing nine minims in one voice and six in the other—exceedingly difficult to sing; thus:—

SESQUIALTERA, OR, THREE TO TWO.



* The star indicates the beat.

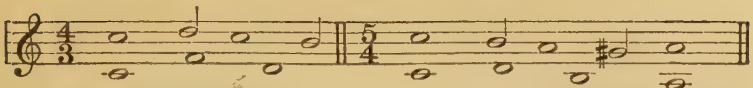
In Sesquitertia also, or 4 to 3, and in Sesquiquarta, or 5 to 4, Tinctoris is still content to display the numbers of the ratios in the minim values allotted to each voice—in each bar of Sesquitertia, that is to say, we find four minims in one voice against three in the other, and in each bar of Sesquiquarta five minims in one voice against four in the other, thus:—



The question, how these proportions were to be sung, did not apparently trouble Tinctoris. We however may turn with relief to a method of displaying them which is to be found in the treatise of Antonio Leno[1], a contemporary of Guilelmus Monachus, who like that theorist prefers a practical exposition of the ratios, and who by conceiving them as four notes in the time and of the value of three semibreves, and five notes in the time and of the value of four semibreves, respectively, has rendered their expression easy.

[1] *Coussè. Script.* iii. 324.

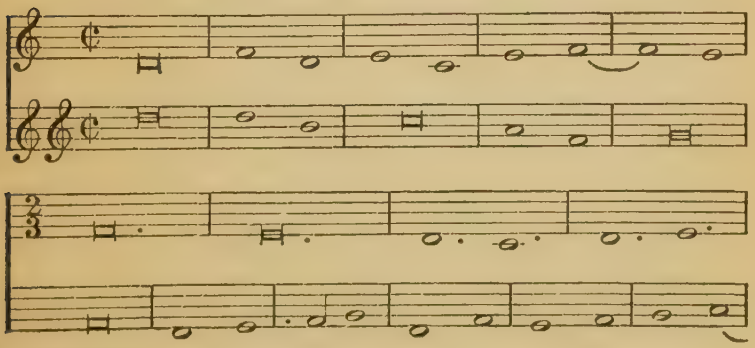
SESQUITERTIA. SESQUIQUARTA.



Four notes *against three.* *Five* notes *against four.*

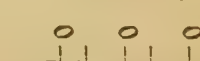
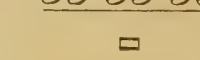
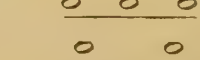
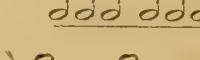
It is obvious that the effect of all these combinations of measure—two in the time of one, three or four in the time of one, three in the time of two, four and five in the time of three and four—must be in each case a *diminution* of the values of the notes employed; but it is also easy to see that by reversing the formulae and the signs, one would be sung in the time of two, of three, or of four, and so on, and that we in fact in each case obtain an *augmentation* of value; and this device of augmentation was of course in the old practice as useful for the purposes of variety, and as often employed, as the other. It will not be necessary for us to enter into a detailed description, or to give complete examples, of this phase of the 'proportional' system; we may, however, in passing from the subject, exhibit an instance of augmentation in the subsesquialtera ratio—the inversion of sesquialtera—in which the notes in one voice are increased in value by half as much again as in the other, so that the breve is now a breve and a half, the semibreve a semibreve and a half, and so on. The sign, therefore, appropriately indicates that two are to be sung in the time of three, instead of three in the time of two as in sesquialtera.

SUBSESQUIALTERA.



How many of the combinations described above were actually sung it is impossible to say. The more difficult and recondite among those which found any favour were probably chiefly used in extempore discant, in which an unsuccessful attempt might soon be abandoned, and a failure pass without notice. This irrepressible institution had already, as it would seem, succeeded during this century in regaining completely its former position in the church, and from what we know of its methods we may well suppose—indeed we are told by Morley—that every kind of hard proportion was at least attempted by the discantors *supra librum*. Yet in the final result—if we may suppose that this is to be seen in the written music of the period—the simplest ratios, corresponding roughly speaking with the four prolations, were gradually perceived as the most satisfactory, and were alone permanently adopted.

SHORT TABLE OF VARIETIES OF TIME AND PROLATION, ARRANGED IN THEIR 'PROPORTIONAL' ASPECT.

Dupla corresponds to Time Imperfect		sign $\frac{2}{1}$ or ☾
or to Time Imperfect of the minor Prolation .		sign $\frac{4}{2}$ or ☾
or to Time Perfect of the minor Prolation . . .		sign $\frac{6}{3}$ or ☾
Tripla corresponds to Time Perfect		sign $\frac{3}{1}$ or ○
or to Time Imperfect of the major Prolation .		sign $\frac{6}{2}$ or ☉
or to Time Perfect of the major Prolation . . .		sign $\frac{9}{3}$ or ⊙

Upon the death of Dufay, in 1474, the leadership of the Gallo-Belgic or Netherland school passed to the greatest of his surviving followers, Johannes Okeghem, then between forty and fifty years old, and at the head of the Royal Chapel in Paris. By some this master is thought to have been the pupil of the man whom he succeeded; but by others, and with more probability, his education is ascribed to Binchois, at Antwerp. Be this, however, as it may, he is in fact the true successor of both these composers, for in his work, more than in that of any other members of the school, the chief constructive means of their technique—apart from the *cantus firmus*, and as seen in their proportional devices, and in their frequent canonic imitation—are continued and developed.

By what means, or through what channels, the influence of Okeghem was brought to bear upon the main body of the contemporary composers, or how a man, who was for thirty years at least high in office in the French royal musical establishment, could communicate his methods and his enthusiasm to the relatively distant and scattered members of the school of the Netherlands, does not appear; but since many of his pupils exist for us only in name, and their histories and circumstances are as yet quite undiscovered, we may perhaps suppose that more of them than we know were, like Josquin Desprès, with him in the French Royal Chapel.

But though the influence of the master was great and widely extended, Okeghem was probably not at first followed unanimously, or acclaimed as leader without a dissentient voice. In the Netherlands themselves, for instance, the small transitional school, consisting of Busnois, Basiron, Regis, Caron, and Obrecht, whose work we have just examined, is supposed to have at first remained independent, some of its members continuing the traditions of Dufay with but little change, and others modifying them in a manner different from that of Okeghem; but it is also admitted that this school was eventually merged in the larger one, that a fusion of aims, of which the

work of Josquin is the great visible sign, was effected, and that all thenceforward pursued upon the whole the same objects.

The special object of the work of Okeghem may be said to have been the development of the latent formal resources of the music of his time. These were of several kinds, but the most important were of course canon or fugue, and the proportional devices of augmentation and diminution. Both of these means are well exhibited, in combination, in a short movement from the composer's *Missa Prolationum*, printed by Sebald Heyden in his *Ars Canendi*; in this extremely intricate work we may perceive two concurrent canons, for high and low voices respectively, and also, in the lower voice of each canon, an augmentation of the subject. In the lower canon the augmentation is continued for a short time only, since otherwise the voice in which it appears would soon have been carried too far from its leader; and probably this fact alone has prevented the completion of this extremely difficult device. Notwithstanding the hardness of the task which the author has imposed upon himself the melodies of the separate voices have not appreciably suffered. It cannot of course be said that they possess the freedom and flow of sound which would have arisen naturally in an untrammelled composition, but there is no apparent sign of yielding, on the part of the writer, to superior force, nor any obvious awkwardness demanding allowance or excuse. And this in itself is a proof of great mastery.

Apart from the difficulties which Okeghem created for himself in treating forms already existing, he invented others—for so we may perhaps understand the account given by Glareanus—of a kind either unknown or at least very unusual. He was fond, Glareanus says, of constructing '*Catholica*' in music, that is to say, melodies which might be sung in any mode at the discretion of the singers, 'yet so,' says the author somewhat darkly, 'that the ratio of the harmony and of the consonances be nevertheless observed.' The first example of this kind of music given by Glareanus is the well-known fugue for three

voices, in the fourth above, at the distance of a perfect breve—a work of so much importance that, notwithstanding the fact that it has been often printed, it is given in part below[1]. The signature is derived from the original canon, where it appears as a figure giving a choice apparently either of two flats or two sharps. The signature of two flats, which is generally adopted, would indicate, in the modal point of view, a twice transposed Aeolian, and this gives a good result; that the composition is not equally satisfactory, however, in all modes may be seen from a reference, for example, to the ninth bar of our translation, where, supposing the signature to be removed and the Mixolydian mode to be exhibited, great difficulties must occur, difficulties which the rules of *musica ficta*, either by ♭ or ♯, would be powerless to remove. Two other examples of *Catholica* are also given—the *Kyrie* and *Benedictus* respectively from the short Mass *Cuiusvis Toni*, a name in which the nature of this device is sufficiently indicated. The *Kyrie* is shown in the Aeolian and the *Benedictus* in the Mixolydian.

A typical example of Okeghem's composition is *Je nay deul*, a setting probably of some well-known song. The first four notes, sung as breves by the alto, are at once repeated by the treble in the fifth above; but with the exception of this opening, and a few short imitative passages occurring later, fugal artifice would seem to be abandoned in this work, which

[1] Since both Hawkins and Burney have printed this canon, it is unfortunately necessary to point out that their translations are wrong. Hawkins was first led astray by his own supposition of an error in the direction given by Glareanus—*Fuga trium vocum in epidiatessaron* (*nam sic nunc loquuntur*) *post perfectum tempus.* 'Epidiatessaron'—meaning, he says, a fourth *below*—proves impossible in translation, while 'epidiapente,' or a fifth *below*, gives a solution which he adopts; but this was of course only acceptable as an inversion of the proper interval, the fourth *above*, shown in our translation. Moreover, apart from this misconception, Hawkins has rendered his solution quite useless by presenting it in imperfect time, a measure which he has adopted notwithstanding the circle which stands at the beginning of the canon. Burney avoids this mistake, and has even printed a note upon the subject, aimed at Hawkins; he falls, however, himself into the same error as his predecessor with respect to the canonic interval, which he also believes to be the fifth below the subject.

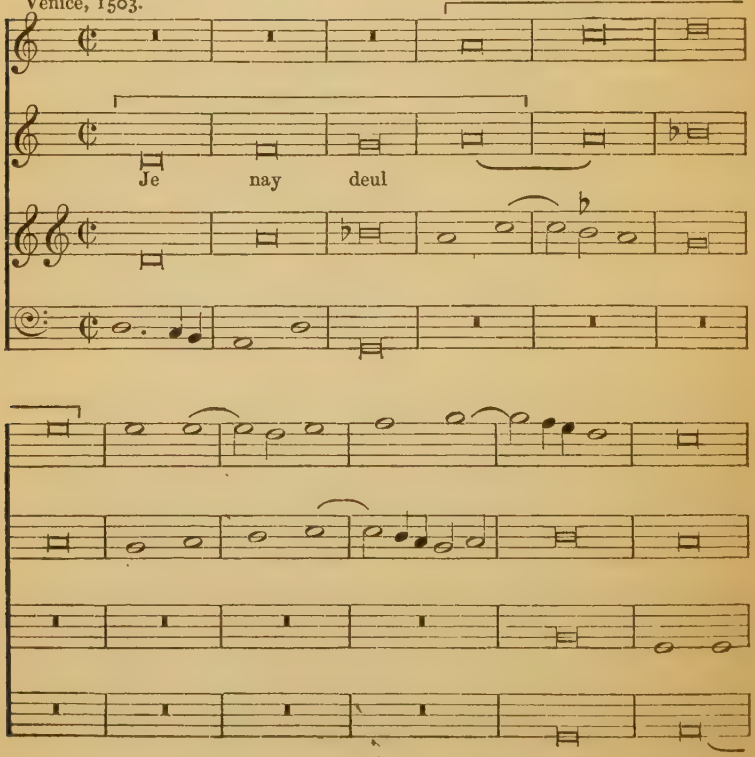
thus in its treatment much resembles the secular settings of Dufay. Its most remarkable feature is the great width of range attempted. The composition is for four voices only, yet it extends through three octaves; a peculiarity which creates sometimes a distressing bareness of sound, though sometimes indeed, especially towards the close, effects of great richness and solidity are produced. Our examples now follow:

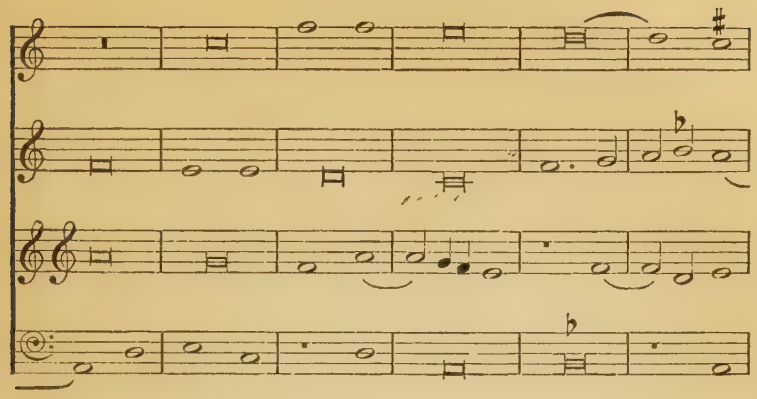
JE NAY DEUL.

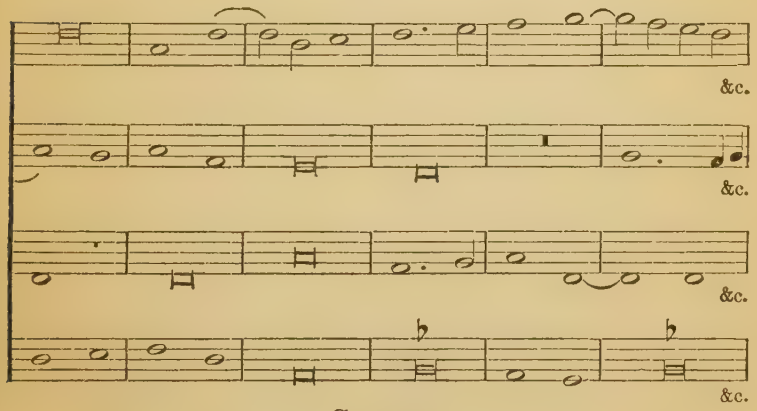
Song.

Canti centocinquanta.
Venice, 1503.

Iohannes Okeghem.





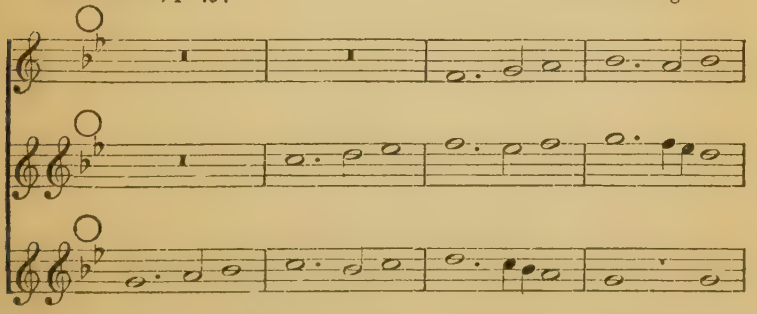


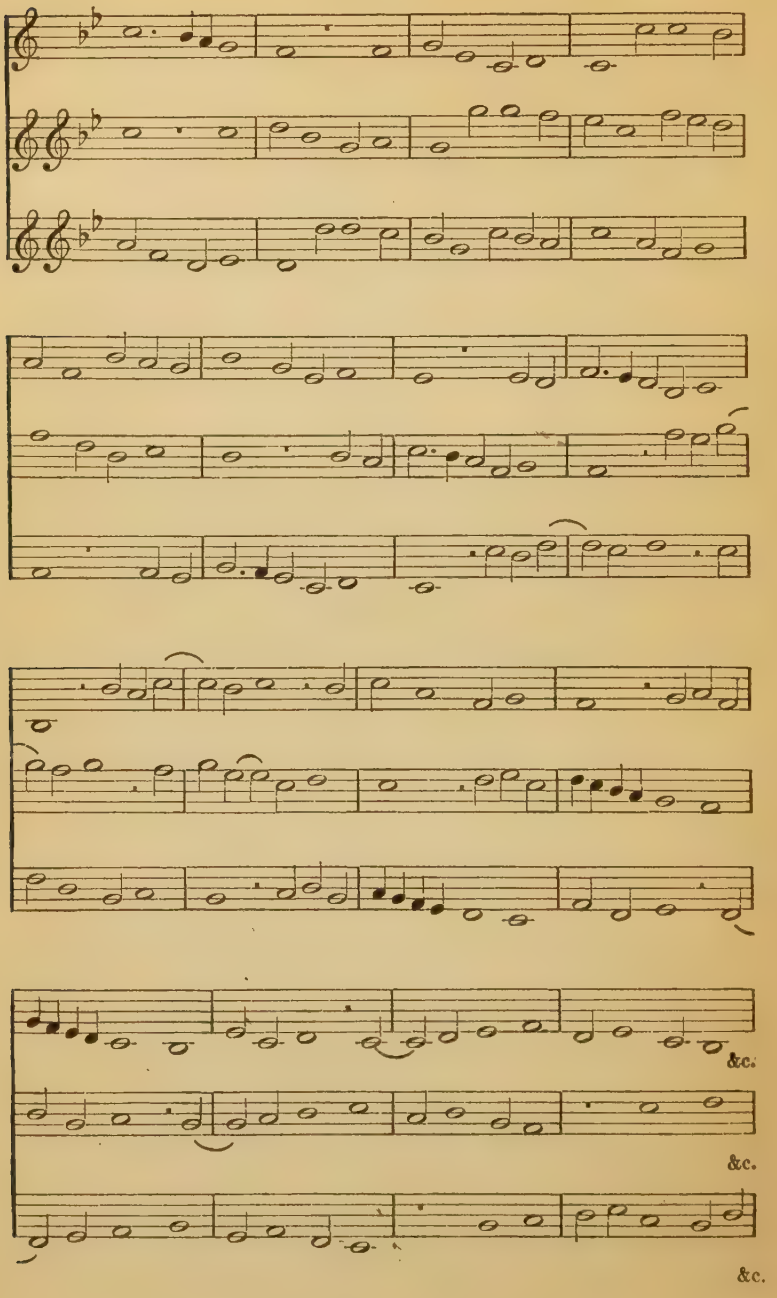
Canon.

Three in one, in the fourth above.

From Glareanus;
Dodecachordon, p. 454.

Iohannes Okeghem.

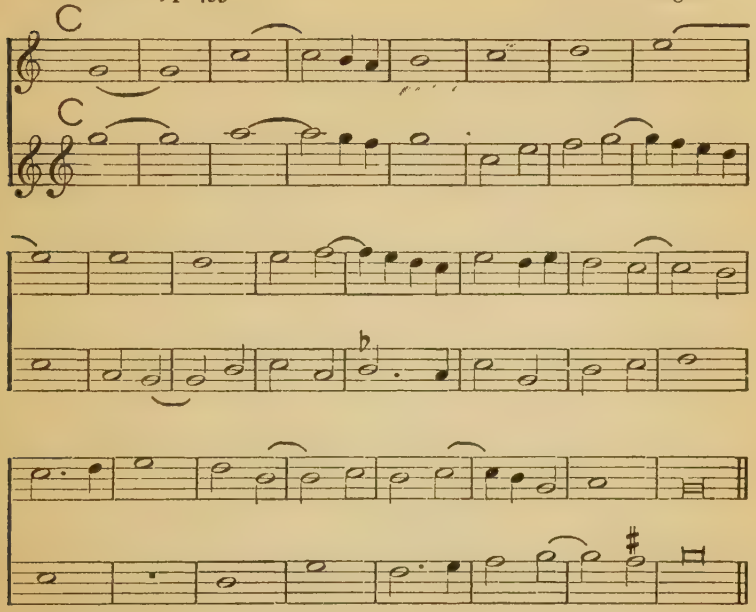



&c.
&c.
&c.

Mass: Cuiusvis toni.

BENEDICTUS.

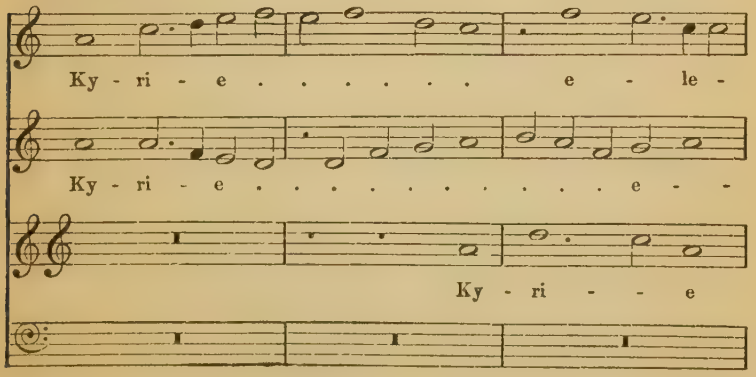
From Glareanus;
Dodecachordon, p. 455. Iohannes Okeghem.

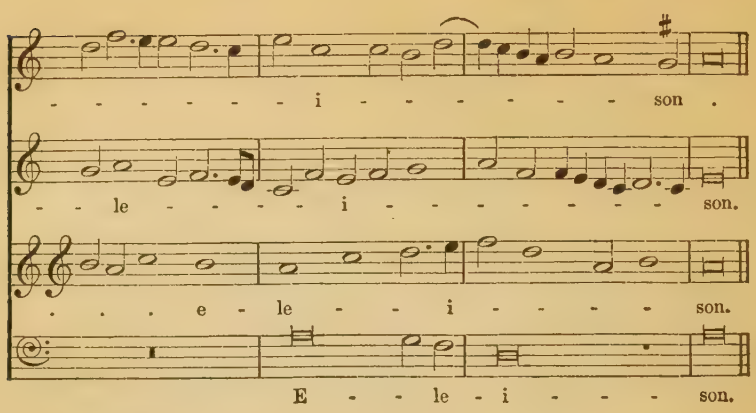


Mass: Cuiusvis Toni.

KYRIE.

From Glareanus;
Dodecachordon, p. 455. Iohannes Okeghem.





It has not been considered necessary to quote any further examples of the music of Okeghem, since the specimens that we have given may be thought sufficiently to display its character and general aims. The difficulties, invented in order to be overcome, are throughout his work—so far as we know it —apparently of much the same nature as those just exhibited, while as regards the relative facility with which the task is accomplished, and the degree of pleasure to be derived from the actual sounds evolved in its execution, examination reveals little variation among the individual compositions, whether sacred or secular. The standard of beauty attained by Okeghem, however, in his work, though sufficiently high, as has been said, if we consider the circumstances of its production, is not constantly or even often equal to that attained by Dunstable, in whose compositions the individual voices were governed by no other consideration than that of simple contrapuntal relation to each other and to the *cantus*.

But even if the immediate results obtained by Okeghem, in his unremitting pursuit of canon and its kindred devices, had been less pleasing than they are actually seen to be, the work performed by him would none the less have been beneficial, and indeed necessary for music. In any case it had become inevit-

able. Canon, brought actually into use by the musicians of the fourteenth century, had long lain in an undeveloped and stagnant condition; and though, in the hands of Dufay, who received it from the Italians, it had begun to assume a more living aspect, and though greater beauty and a certain harmonic propriety were now infused into it, its old typical form, consisting of long prosing passages for two voices, in which one dutifully repeats, sometimes at an almost unrecognizable distance, every note uttered by the other, still continued. But in the general awakening and reformation of musical means which came at the close of the fifteenth century, it was inevitable that the true nature of canon as a constructive agent, apart from all other considerations, should be perceived. The device therefore became now, as we have seen, the subject of experiment; the old reply by one voice, at a long distance, to a subject supported by accompaniment, was abandoned, the imitation was brought closer and closer to the unaccompanied subject, more and more replies were derived, by imitation, from one proposition, proportional devices were mingled with the canonic, and so on; in short, the investigation of the possibilities of canon became the chief work of the time, and attracted universal attention. Considering then that the line of general effort lay in this direction, it is evident that until the theory of fugue or canon had been settled, until the limits of its use had been reached and it had taken its place as a regular and recognized musical means, no general progress was possible; for the device having been now perceived in its true nature, a new method for its application, based upon newly discovered principles, was also required. And it is in this sense that the unremitting study of the phenomena of canon, which it fell to the lot of Okeghem to undertake, was said to be necessary; that it was moreover beneficial must appear not only in the wonderful enlargement of the technical means of music which was its immediate result, but also from a consideration of the enormous efforts of contrapuntal ingenuity involved in the success of these

complicated canonic constructions; for the mastery which was the result of this immense labour, transmitted by Okeghem to his pupils, and by them to their successors, made all the work that was to come comparatively easy.

The pupil in whose work the fact of this transmission of Okeghem's mastery is most conspicuous is, of course, Josquin Desprès. Indeed, as regards the methods of fugue or canon, this composer may probably be said to have carried their subtleties even beyond the point to which they had attained when he received them, if that were possible; and the comparative ease with which he must have performed the most difficult operations of this kind, as a consequence of receiving the appropriate methods and useful rules complete from their inventor, appears from a comparison of the quantity of his productions in this kind, which was very great, with that of the inventor himself, who though enjoying a far longer life than that which fell to the lot of his pupil, brought out, according to all the accounts, relatively little of any kind.

The greater part of Josquin's learning and invention in these recondite forms of composition is exhibited in his numerous settings of the ordinary of the Mass,—a subject considered indeed by all composers of the time as an appropriate occasion for the display of every kind of formal ingenuity; and in these settings canonic and proportional devices, now in one voice and now in another, are throughout unceasing. Thus, remembering that thirty-two Masses by Josquin still exist, in print or MS., we may form some idea of his activity in this field.

Our first example of the composer's work is the *Sanctus* from one of his Masses upon the melody *L'homme armé* [1].

[1] Dr. Burney's analytical notes upon this Mass may be considered of sufficient interest to be given here. They occur at p. 494 of his History, vol. ii. 'In every movement of Josquin's Mass,' he says, 'some part or other, but generally the tenor, is singing the tune in different notes and measures; sometimes in augmentation, and sometimes in diminution. In the *Kyrie*, or first movement, the tenor has the first part of the tune which the superius, or upper part, had led off; in the next movement, or *Christe*, it has the second part. In the third, fourth and sixth move-

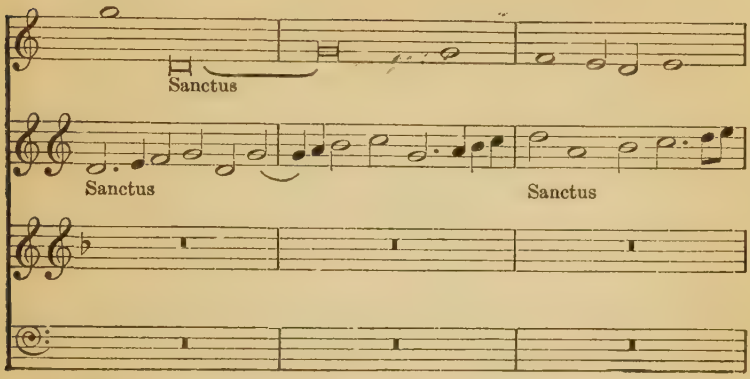
Mass.

L'homme armé.

SANCTUS.

Liber primus missae Josquin.
Fossembrone: Petrucci, 1516.

Josquin Desprès.



ments, the tenor has the subject tune in different and difficult notations, and in the fifth and seventh the same part sings it in *retro*, or, as it is called in the musical technica of the times, *cancrizans*.

'In the *Sanctus*, the soprano leads off the subject on D, moving in breves and semibreves, accompanied by the counter tenor in a free and airy melody; and, after six bars, the tenor sings the theme in F, and in augmentation: when the first part is finished, the bass leads off a new subject of close imitation between itself, the counter tenor, and the soprano; and while the tenor is singing the second part of the tune, the intelligent musician will see several ingenious contrivances in the other three parts.

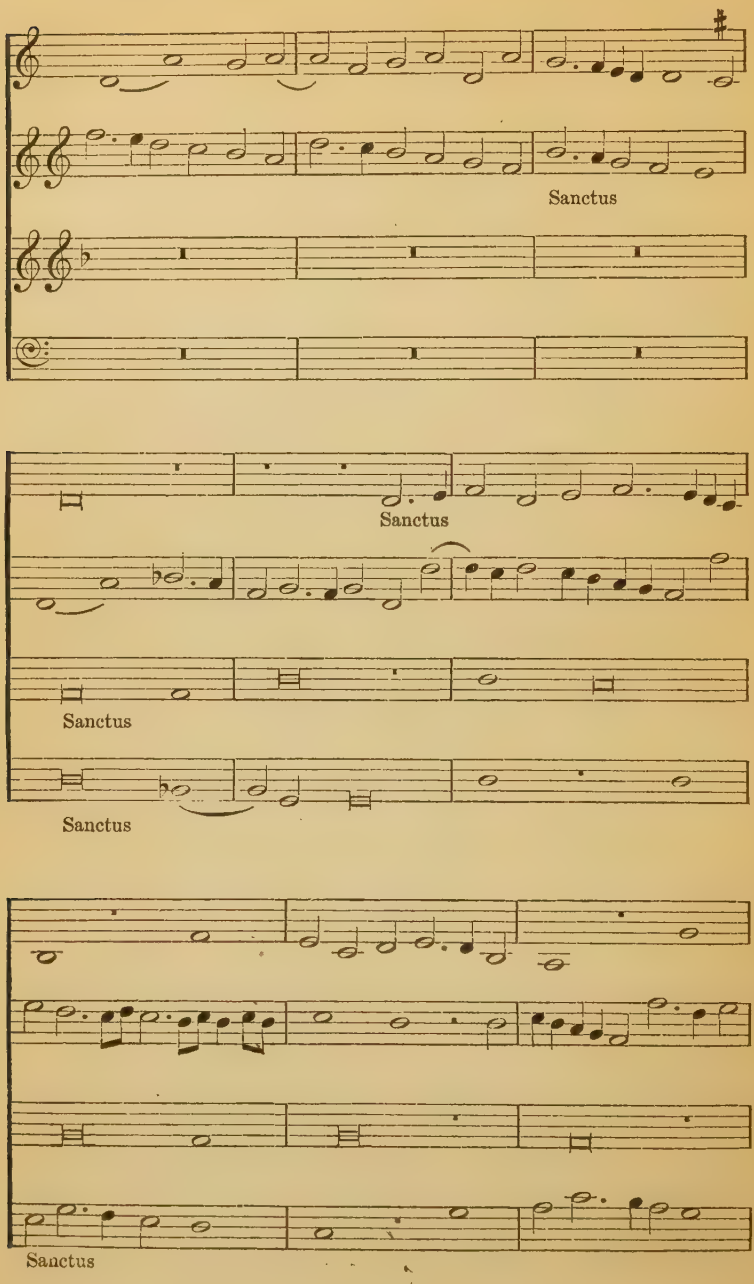
'The *Osanna* has many curious contrivances in *moto contrario*, double counterpoint, &c., in three parts; while a fourth is still singing *L'homme armé*.

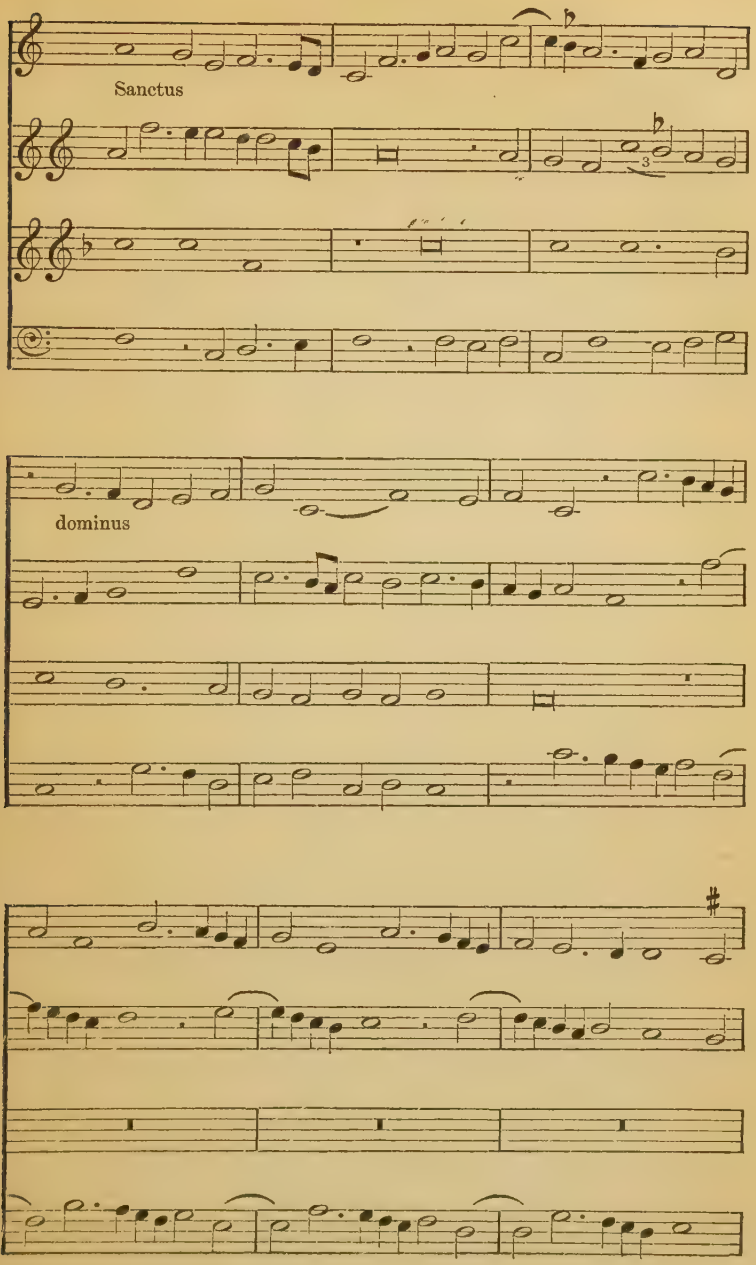
'In the two next movements, *Benedictus qui venit*, and *In nomine*, by a curious species of contrivance, *Duos* are formed by two parts singing the same intervals in different measures; that is, while one performs the melody in semibreves, the other sings it in minims, and *e contra*.

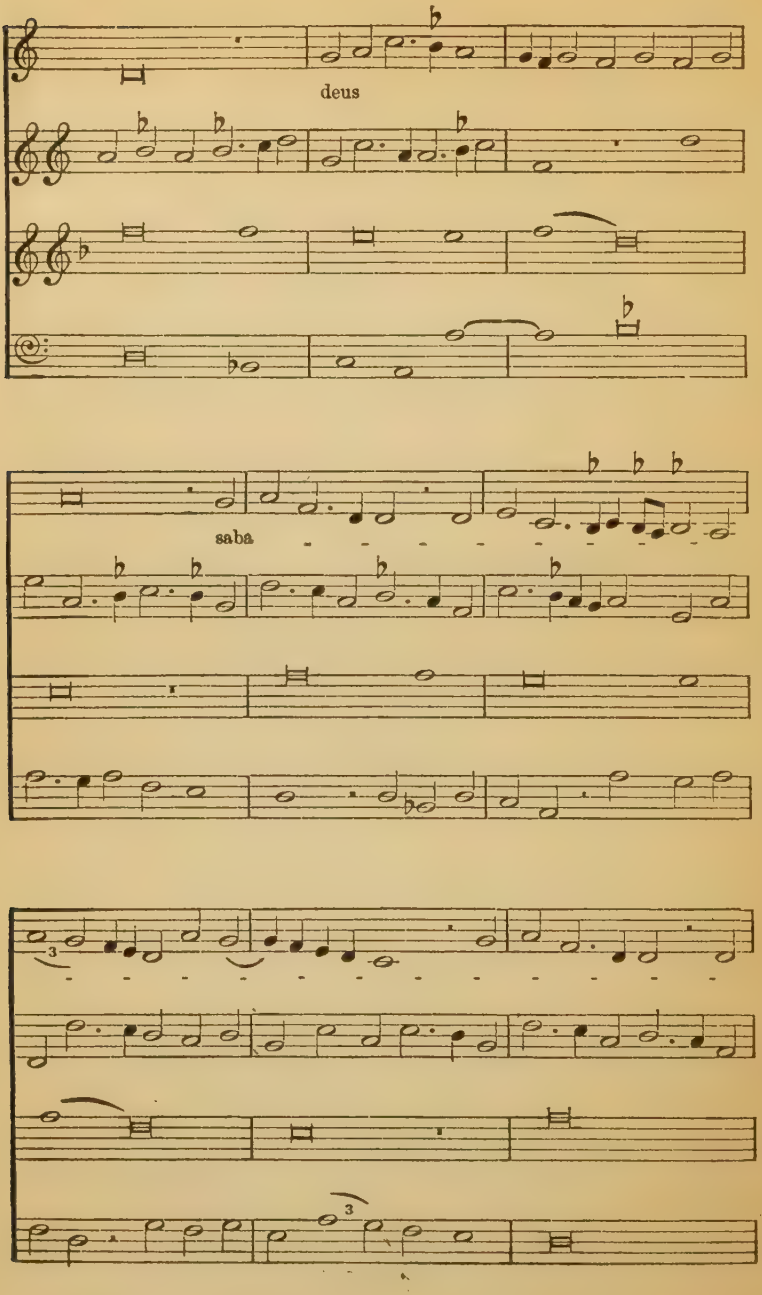
'The next movement, *Agnus Dei*, in four parts, is an exercise for time, as the proportions in all the parts are different. After this, there is a second movement, to the same words, where three parts, in different measures, are drawn out of one:—*tria in unum*.

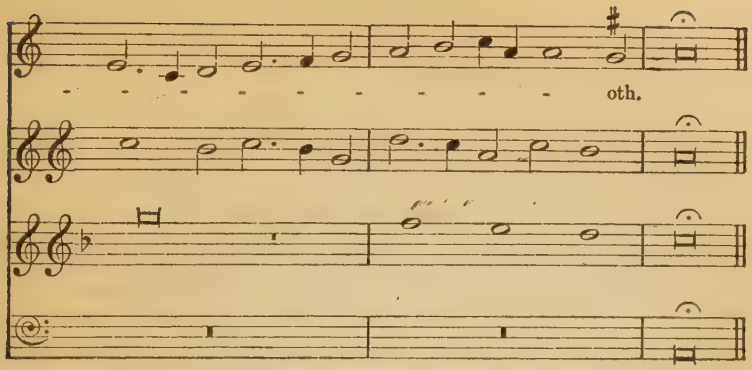
'The next, and last, movement is a third *Agnus Dei*, à 4, in which the superius, or upper part, performs the tune in longs and breves, with this direction, *clama ne cesses*; which implies perpetual singing, without keeping any of the rests that may occur, and allowing only for the time of the notes. The other three parts are in close fugue, during the whole movement, and often in canon, the tissue of which is carried on with wonderful art and ingenuity.'

A description of any other of Josquin's Masses would probably differ but little from this.


Sanctus
Sanctus
Sanctus
Sanctus
Sanctus


Sanctus
dominus


deus
saba



It is difficult, no doubt, in considering the remarkable character of the work just exemplified, to imagine the exact point of view in which Josquin himself regarded these ingenious contrivances. That they astonished the world, and were expected of him, is clear; but was this alone, it may be asked, the motive of their production, or did he himself regard them seriously, and in some way receive from them aesthetic pleasure? To this it may be answered that the view, not only of these devices but of all musical means, taken by Josquin, and indeed by Okeghem also, probably resembled the view of any material which is entertained by the workman who is to deal with it, and who is before all things desirous of full knowledge with respect to its capacities. In creating these difficulties for themselves, and in overcoming them, the pleasure of the masters lay not only in the exercise of the utmost ingenuity, but also, and much more, in the actual development itself of their material, which was the reward of their struggle, in the discovery of its powers, and in obliging it to perform, quite perfectly, things hitherto unknown. Similar phenomena may be observed in the history of all arts during their periods of growth, when often apparently unreasonable and unmeaning activities, irritating and disturbing to the student, are seen as occupying for awhile a large place in the scheme of artistic effort. Their results indeed seldom continue, certainly not

in their first shape; but always something, more or less, which may be traced to the impulse that created them, appears as part of the finished and perfected technique.

The element of aesthetic pleasure, then, does not properly exist in the artificial system of musical contrivance, considered in itself; yet it may always be derived in some degree from the work of Josquin in this kind, even in its most recondite phases, since the ingenuity is always combined—and more obviously than in the work of Okeghem—with beauty of effect; nay, often indeed the uninstructed hearer might suppose the composition, from its musical charm, to be most devoid of artifice when in fact it is most concerned with it. And this strain of beauty, dependent upon purely musical effect, which is natural to Josquin, is of course more apparent in those works in which he is governed by no necessity—in his motetts, hymns, and psalms.

It has already been said that the true place of the difficult musical devices was generally thought to be in compositions of the ordinary of the Mass; and indeed it was in this situation, and in the more solemn extra-liturgical forms, that they first began to make their appearance, as the direct outcome and continuation of the elaborate floreated counterpoint, woven around a *cantus*, which in the time of Dunstable and Dufay constituted the usual music of the service. They were first introduced tentatively into that beautiful tissue, and increasing by degrees eventually controlled the composition. But that these devices, notwithstanding the enormous part which they played for a time in music, were not themselves actually progressive or destined to occupy more than a very small place in the perfected tradition of technique, is seen in the fact that even in the work of Josquin, in which their variety would seem to have been exhausted, they have not extended the original area of their activity, but are still practically confined to the ordinary of the Mass and to the greater extra-liturgical forms. There still, chiefly, are to be found the sustained canonic imita-

tion, the raising of several parts out of one, the simultaneous employment of widely different prolations and proportions, the continuous repetition throughout of the same *cantus* in different forms; in the rest of Josquin's ecclesiastical compositions the traditional simplicity is still observed, and different methods prevail, in which beauty is derived not only from musical effect but also from expression. This is Josquin's personal style, and we may now consider it.

Reference has more than once been made above to the small transitional school, as it is called by Ambros, which was led by Busnois and Obrecht—contemporaries of Okeghem—and also to their aims, different from those of their contemporary, and eventually merged in those of Josquin; indeed we gave lately, at pp. 189, 195, and 197, specimens of their work. Returning now for a moment to these, after our examination of the remarkable canonic and proportional feats of Okeghem and Josquin, we are struck by the simple and rational use of imitation in the chanson by Busnois, where the device, though truly constructive in character, is presented not as a gigantic puzzle in which all the parts throughout are equally concerned, but rather as a form of counterpoint, designed to please the ear by the repetition of a phrase, now in one voice and now in another. The methods adopted in this little work still need simplification, no doubt, but with this improvement they are to be recognized in the superior method of Josquin, in whose motetts and psalms, for, instance, points of imitation of the same nature as those of Busnois are frequently taken.

The work of Obrecht is even more obviously and unmistakably important than that of Busnois. We have often remarked upon the fact that the music of Dunstable and Dufay, though beautiful, was both lacking in character of its own and unable in any degree to reflect the character of the words, and that a joyful subject would convey in their music the same sensations to the hearer as a mournful one. This limitation was of course a part of the nature of the early polyphonic music itself. In

plainsong the modal phrases no doubt to a certain extent conveyed the impression of the special modal *ethos*, so that joyous or sorrowful feelings might be created merely by the choice of mode; but the methods of early polyphony were such as to confuse and destroy any expression of special feeling which might have been contained in the ecclesiastical *cantus*, and to reduce all modes to one. For even when the composition ended in the tenor upon the final of the mode, and the various passing closes occurred upon appropriate notes, yet the absence of harmonic propriety in the progression of the parts, which was prolonged in some degree even after the death of Dufay in 1474, prevented the establishment of a sufficient harmonic relation between the sentences and their closing notes, and thus for the hearer everything was left unsettled. Now, however, as a part of that astonishing awakening of the musical understanding which came during the last quarter of the fifteenth century, the sense of harmonic propriety is seen as already almost completely established, and the true qualities of the modes are at last apparent in their harmonic treatment. Expression, therefore, at least so far as it may convey the general sense of the words, now for the first time became possible in polyphonic music, and that Obrecht must have been largely concerned in the development of its means is evident from his motett *Parce Domine*, if we consider that this splendid production dates from before 1500 and less than twenty-five years after the death of Dufay.

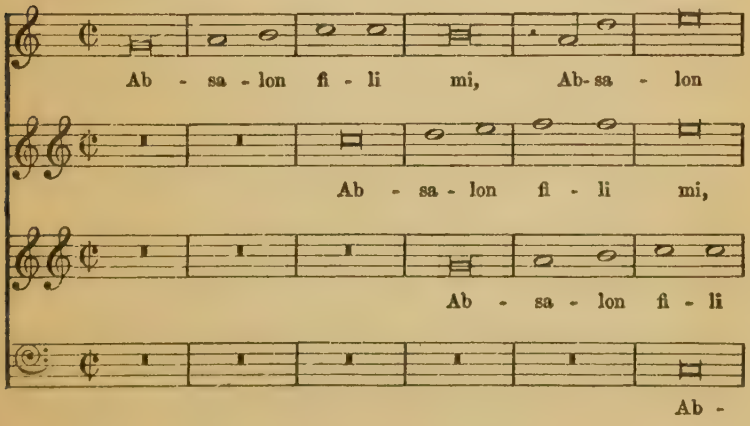
That this work exercised a powerful influence upon the mind of Josquin is in itself highly probable; moreover the younger man has left at least four motetts which are modelled apparently, in principle, upon the plan of Obrecht's composition, and two at least of these—*Planxit autem David*, and *Absalon fili mi*—were celebrated, and have remained famous, for the qualities of pathetic expression which they display. The first could not be presented here, for lack of space, but *Absalon fili mi* is given entire. The mode chosen for this fine study in expression is

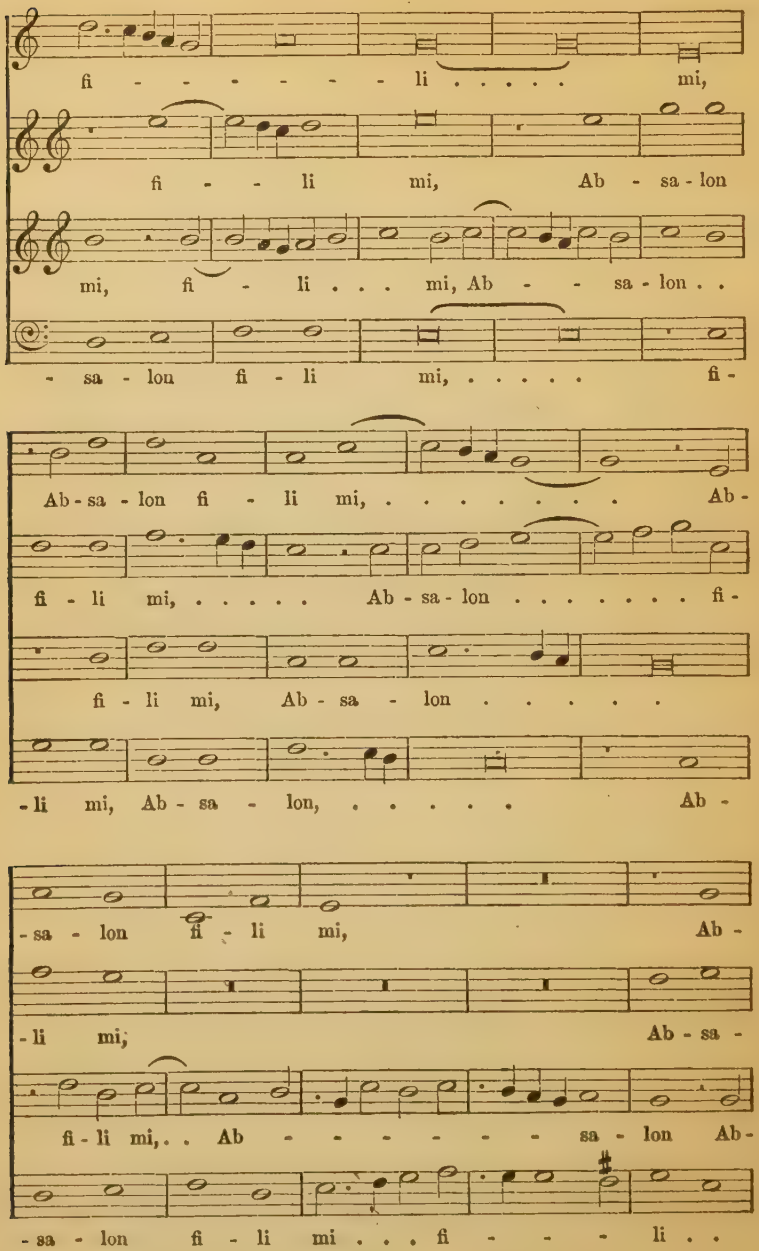
Hypomixolydian, a mode, curiously enough, which Guido declares to be unsuitable to pathos: 'et difficile et ineptum est in eodem modo fieri lamentabile carmen.' Nevertheless Josquin, by frequently forming cadences upon D, the lowest note of the mode, and by a choice of the minor intervals of the scale as much as possible for the melodies of the separate parts, gives to his harmony throughout a certain melancholy; while towards the close, by a licence difficult to defend, he goes definitely out of the scale of the mode, or rather, by the sudden introduction of two flats converts it into a twice transposed Aeolian. The effect of the whole is extremely sad, and at the words *non vivam ultra* it becomes poignant from the introduction of two experimental discords—marked in our copy—which fall under no rule, and will remind the student of certain attempts by the later Purcell. The augmented fifth in the final cadence also is remarkable, and terribly effective. Finally, in passing we may notice, in the opening point of imitation, made upon the first four notes of the authentic scale of this species, the formula afterwards chosen for the famous canon *Non nobis Domine*.

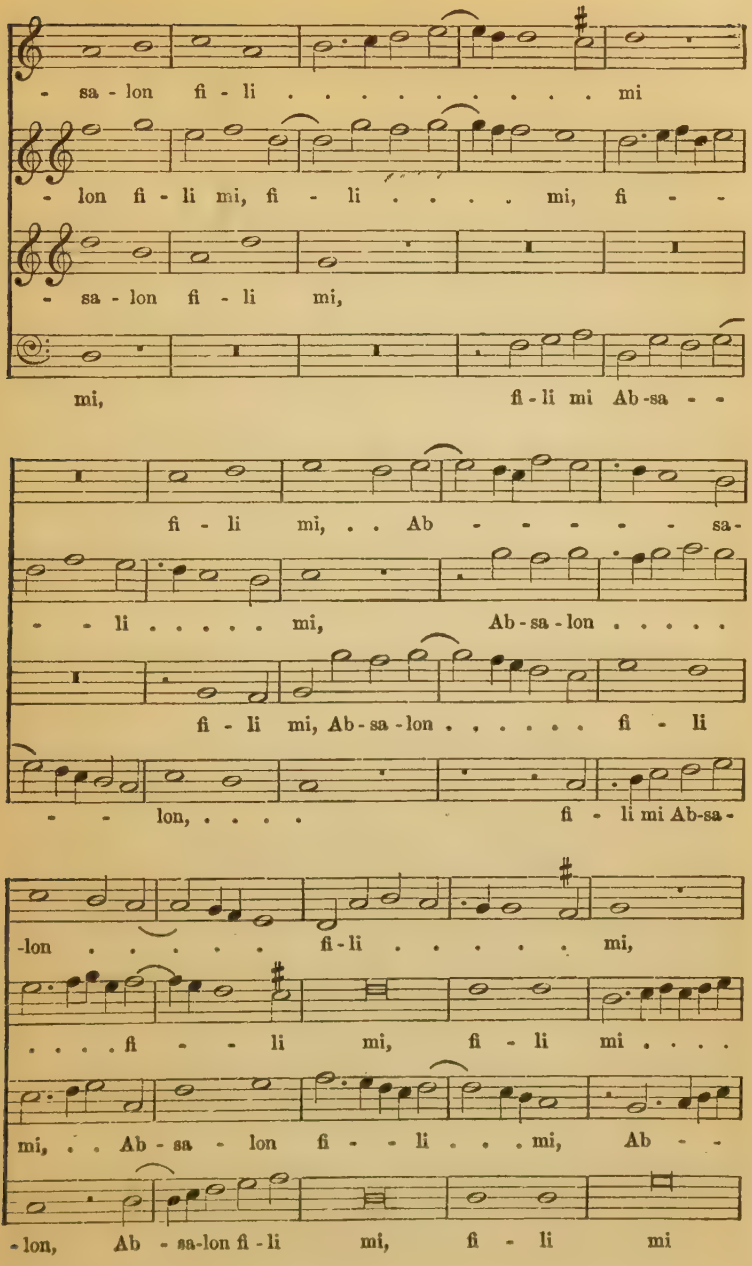
Motett.

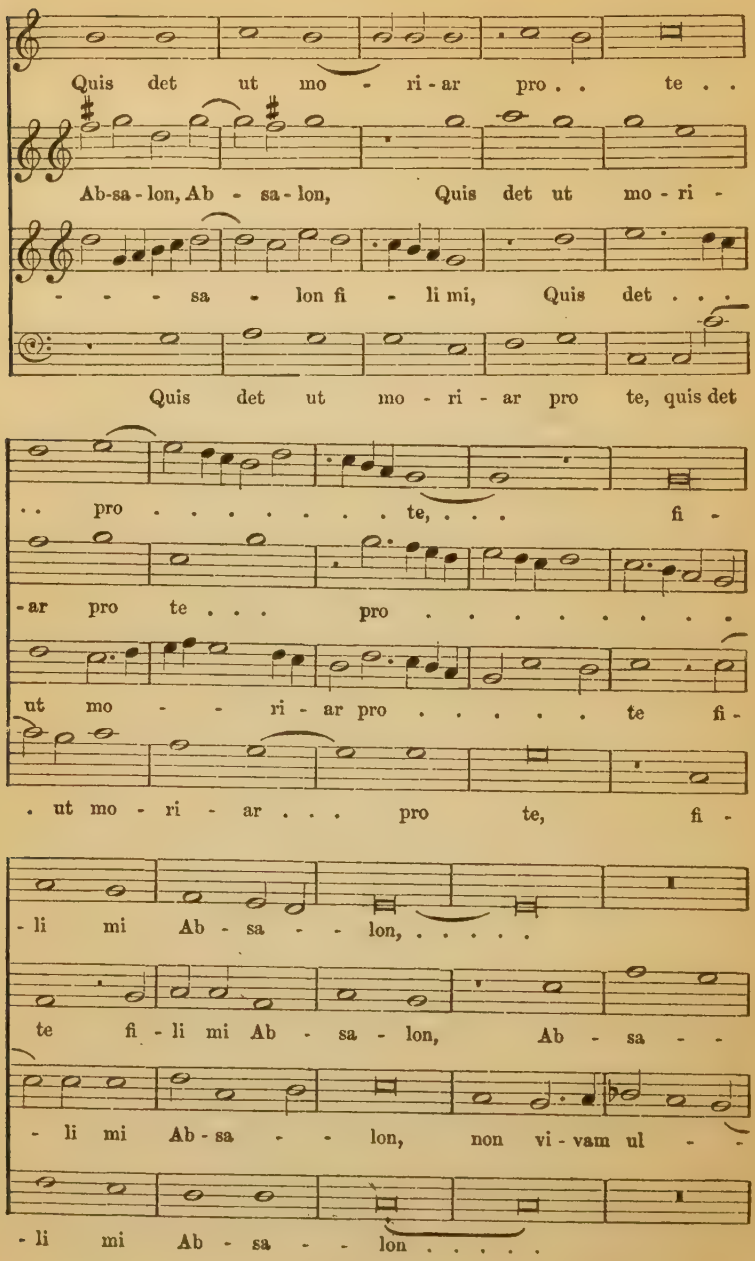
'ABSALON FILI MI.

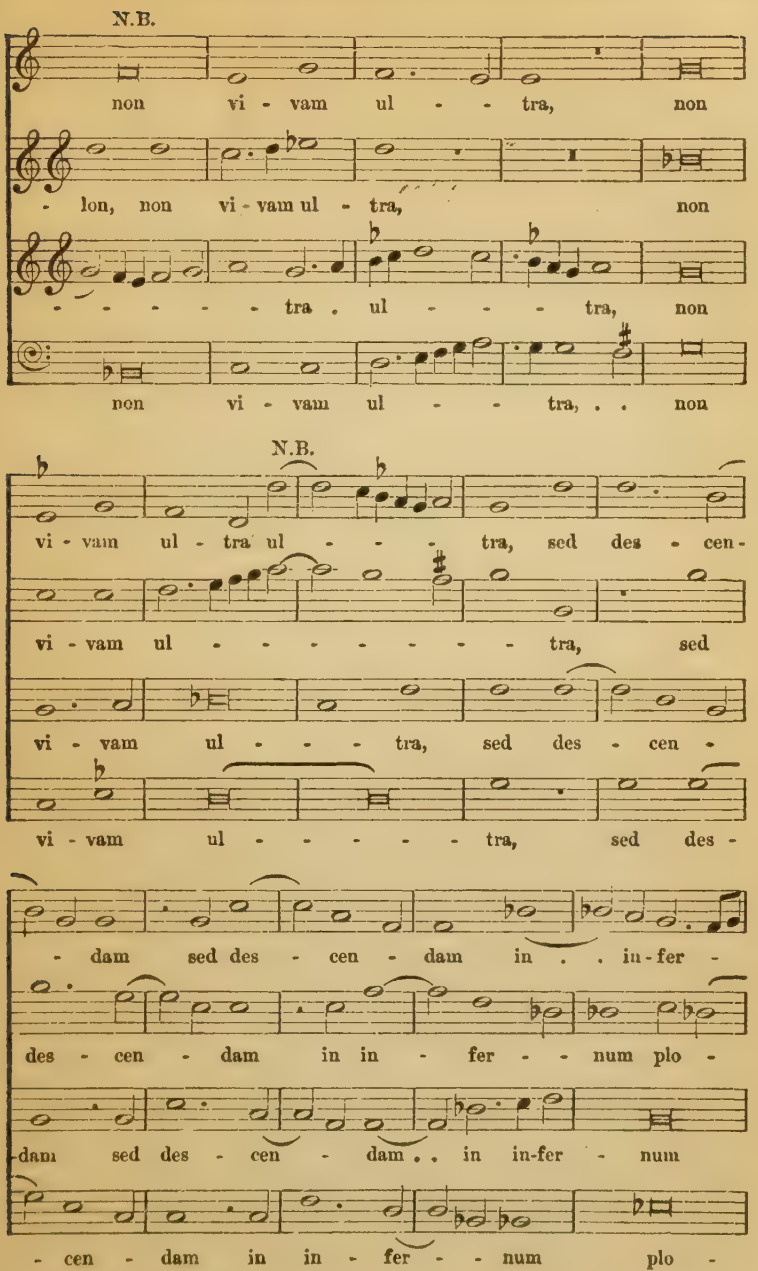
Novum et insigne opus musicum, &c.
Noribergae, 1563. Josquin Desprès.

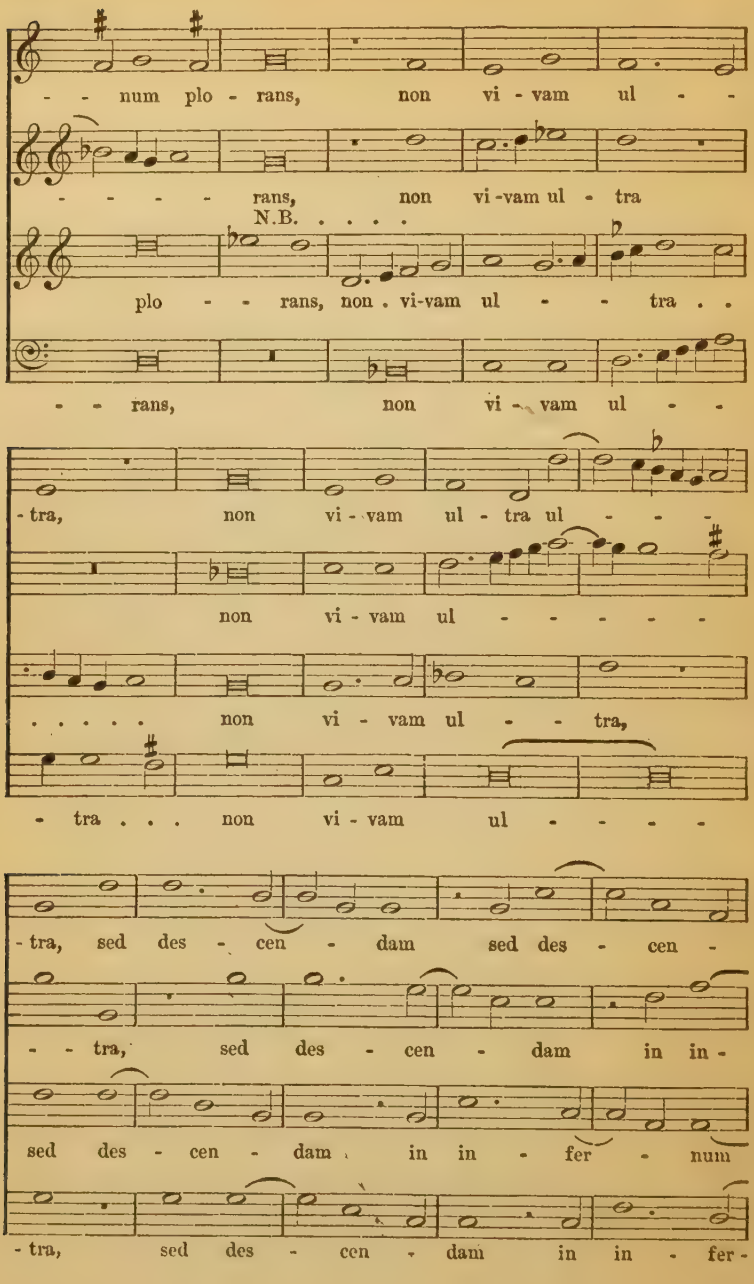


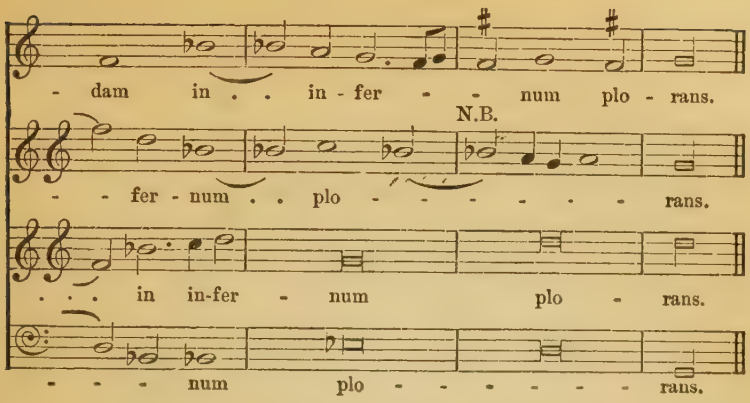

fi - - - - - - - li . . . . . mi,
fi - - li mi, Ab - sa - lon
mi, fi - li . . . mi, Ab - - sa - lon . .
- sa - lon fi - li mi, ... fi -
Ab - sa - lon fi - li mi, ... Ab -
fi - li mi, ... Ab - sa - lon . . . . . fi -
fi - li mi, Ab - sa - lon . . . . .
- li mi, Ab - sa - lon, ... Ab -
- sa - lon fi - li mi, Ab -
- li mi; Ab - sa -
fi - li mi, . . Ab - - - - - - - sa - lon Ab -
- sa - lon fi - li mi . . . fi - - - - li . .


- sa - lon fi - li . . . . . mi
- lon fi - li mi, fi - li . . . . mi, fi - -
- sa - lon fi - li mi,
mi, fi - li mi Ab - sa - -
fi - li mi, . . Ab - - - - - - sa -
- - li . . . . . mi, Ab - sa - lon . . . . .
fi - li mi, Ab - sa - lon . . . . . fi - li
- - lon, ... fi - li mi Ab - sa -
-lon . . . . . fi - li . . . . . mi,
. . . . fi - - li mi, fi - li mi . . . .
mi, . . Ab - sa - lon fi - - li . . . mi, Ab - -
- lon, Ab - sa - lon fi - li mi, fi - li mi


Quis det ut mo - ri - ar pro . . te . .
Ab-sa - lon, Ab - sa - lon, Quis det ut mo - ri -
- - - sa - lon fi - li mi, Quis det . . .
Quis det ut mo - ri - ar pro te, quis det
. . pro . . . . . te, . . . fi -
-ar pro te . . . pro . . . . . .
ut mo - - ri - ar pro . . . . . te fi -
. ut mo - ri - ar . . . pro te, fi -
- li mi Ab - sa - - lon, ...
te fi - li mi Ab - sa - lon, Ab - sa - -
- li mi Ab - sa - - lon, non vi - vam ul - -
- li mi Ab - sa - - lon . . . . .


N.B.
non vi - vam ul - - tra, non
- lon, non vi - vam ul - tra, non
- - - - - - tra . ul - - - - tra, non
non vi - vam ul - - tra, . . non
N.B.
vi - vam ul - tra ul - - - tra, sed des - cen -
vi - vam ul - - - - - - - - tra, sed
vi - vam ul - - - - tra, sed des - cen -
vi - vam ul - - - - - - tra, sed des -
- dam sed des - cen - dam in . . in - fer -
des - cen - dam in in - fer - - num plo -
dam sed des - cen - dam . . in in-fer - num
- cen - dam in in - fer - - num plo -


- - num plo - rans, non vi - vam ul - -
- - - - - rans, non vi-vam ul - tra
N.B. . . . .
plo - - rans, non . vi-vam ul - - tra . .
- - rans, non vi - vam ul - -
- tra, non vi - vam ul - tra ul - - - -
non vi - vam ul - - - - - -
. . . . . non vi - vam ul - - tra,
- tra . . . non vi - vam ul - - - -
- tra, sed des - cen - dam sed des - cen -
- - tra, sed des - cen - dam in in -
sed des - cen - dam in in - fer - num
- tra, sed des - cen - dam in in - fer -



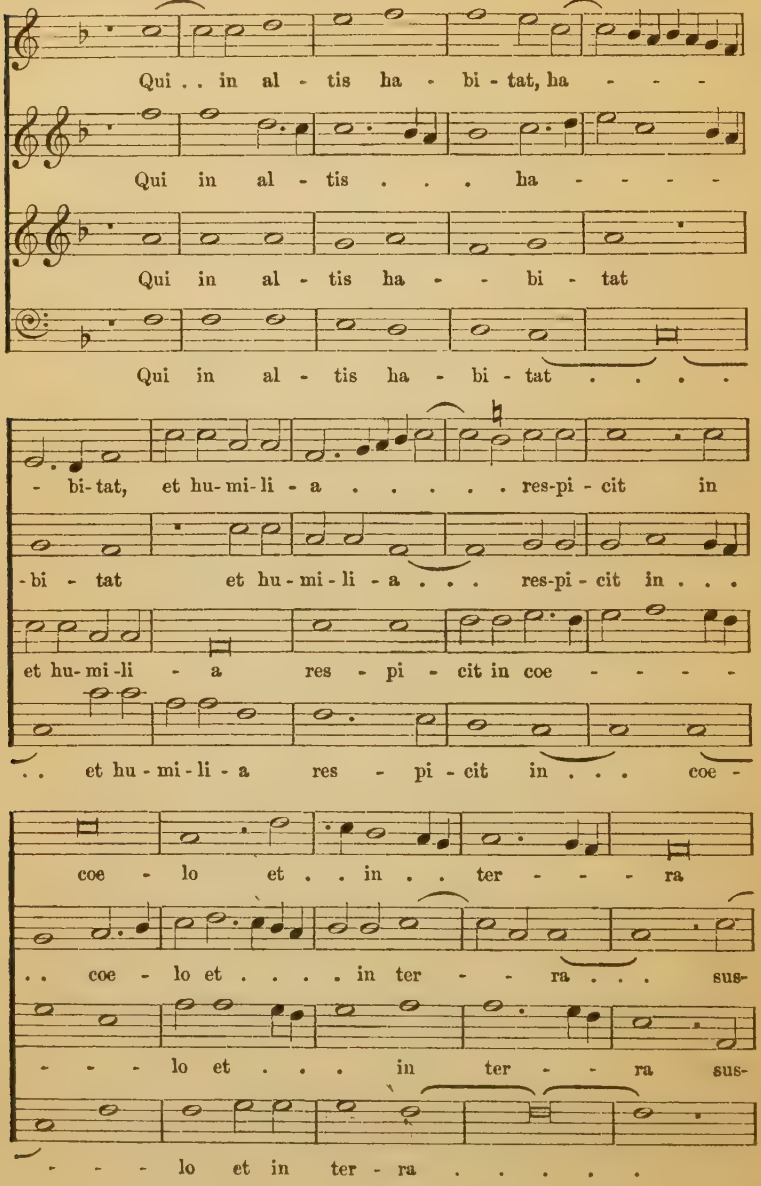
In this composition we see for the first time, in a somewhat rough and even crude form, the type of the sixteenth-century motett. The writer has not yet perceived the true use of points, except as regards the opening, for the purpose of declaring the mode; it is evident that the notion of their constant employment in comparatively short passages throughout the work, entering at the proper moment and again in turn withdrawing from the imitation after a brief prominence, had not yet occurred to composers; but the solid foundation of the form is here, and in the works of subsequent authors we shall trace its development.

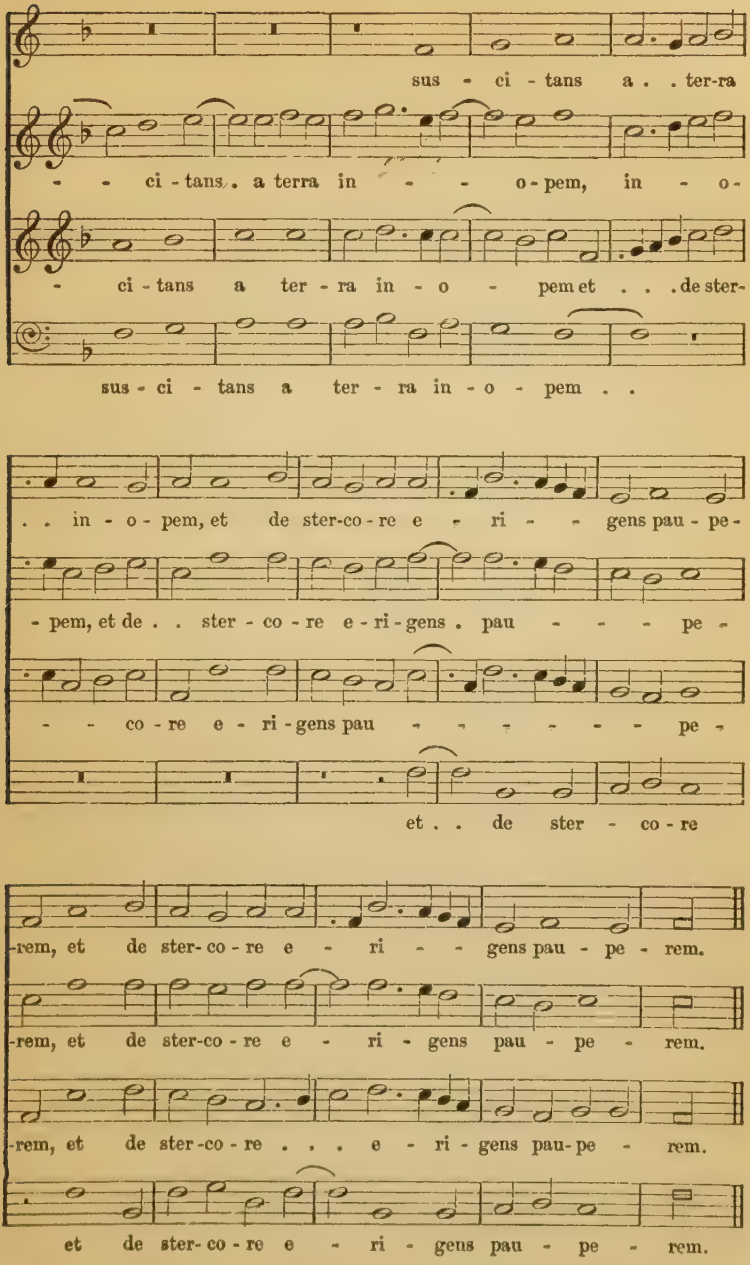
Our small selection of examples would be incomplete without a specimen of Josquin's rendering of joyous feeling; an extract is therefore given from the Psalm *Laudate pueri*, a composition which, from its choice of mode (the Ionian transposed), and its general treatment, presents a remarkably modern aspect, and in which tranquillity and joyful confidence of spirit are beautifully exhibited. Verbal expression is seen for a moment at the word *suscitans*, but it is evident that the author is unwilling upon the whole to injure the simplicity of his representation; the music flows on, in pure concord, undisturbed in the happiness of the moment, and creating throughout a corresponding sentiment in the mind of the hearer.

From the Psalm

LAUDATE PUERI.

Select Psalms, vol. ii. (Montanus) 1553. Josquin Desprès.


Qui . . in al - tis ha - bi - tat, ha - - -
Qui in al - tis . . . ha - - - - -
Qui in al - tis ha - - bi - tat
Qui in al - tis ha - bi - tat . . . .
- bi-tat, et hu-mi-li - a . . . . . res-pi - cit in
-bi - tat et hu-mi-li - a . . . res-pi - cit in . . .
et hu-mi-li - a res - pi - cit in coe - - - -
. . et hu - mi-li - a res - pi - cit in . . . coe -
coe - lo et . . in . . ter - - - ra
. . coe - lo et . . . . in ter - - ra . . . sus-
- - - lo et . . . in ter - - ra sus-
- - - lo et in ter - ra . . . . .


sus - ci - tans a . . ter-ra
- - ci - tans . a terra in - - - o - pem, in - o -
- ci - tans a ter - ra in - o - pem et . . . de ster -
sus - ci - tans a ter - ra in - o - pem . .
. . in - o - pem, et de ster-co - re e - ri - - gens pau - pe -
- pem, et de . . ster - co - re e - ri - gens . pau - - - - pe -
- - co - re e - ri - gens pau - - - - - - - pe -
et . . de ster - co - re
-rem, et de ster- co - re e - ri - - gens pau - pe - rem.
-rem, et de ster-co - re e - ri - gens pau - pe - rem.
-rem, et de ster-co - re . . . e - ri - gens pau-pe - rem.
et de ster- co - re e - ri - gens pau - pe - rem.

In considering the work of Josquin, between 1470 and 1520, in the point of view of its special contribution to the technique of music, it will probably be felt that the actual degree of progress which it represents, especially as seen in the treatment of motetts and psalms, is incomparably greater than that attained by any other musician in a corresponding period of time. Even if we suppose that the works in which this progress is seen as most completely established were not produced in the earlier part of his life—that is to say, not before 1500—the advance which they represent, as compared with the work of Dufay, is enormous. The technique of Dufay is still archaic in principle, for although already in the methods which that composer received from Dunstable the seeds of harmonic propriety existed, yet he did little to develop them, and their growth is scarcely apparent in his work; in the work of Josquin, on the other hand, we find this principle not only recognized, but developed to an extent which was sufficient for the purposes of music during the next fifty years after his death. It is not, however, necessary to suppose that the whole of this development is due to Josquin himself; its commencement is more probably to be ascribed to the early labours of Okeghem and Obrecht, and it may even have been begun by them during the lifetime of Dufay; but it is in the work of Josquin that the principle of harmonic propriety, which alone renders possible the construction of sentences conveying a clear and distinct musical intention, first appears as the most essential motive of musical means and methods. And it is upon this that the whole success and fame of Josquin, in our later point of view and apart from that which encouraged the recondite canonic and proportional devices, is founded; for it is to his perception of this principle above all that we may ascribe those qualities which especially delight us in his work, because more than any others they impress us with a sense of its modernity, namely, its intelligibility when regarded as pure music, and its intensity of expression in rendering the sense of words.

It is perhaps worth observing that the great awakening and activity in the art, beginning probably soon after 1450, to which this result is finally due, corresponds to similar phenomena in other creative spheres, and more particularly to the important enlargement of pictorial means and ideals which dates from the early years of the century; and that the special benefit derived from the movement of which Josquin is the accepted exponent —the potentiality in music of a closer approach to the objects of its imitation in nature—is of the same kind as that which had been already conferred upon painting, when suddenly it became possible to represent as round and isolated in space appearances which formerly could only be exhibited in two dimensions.

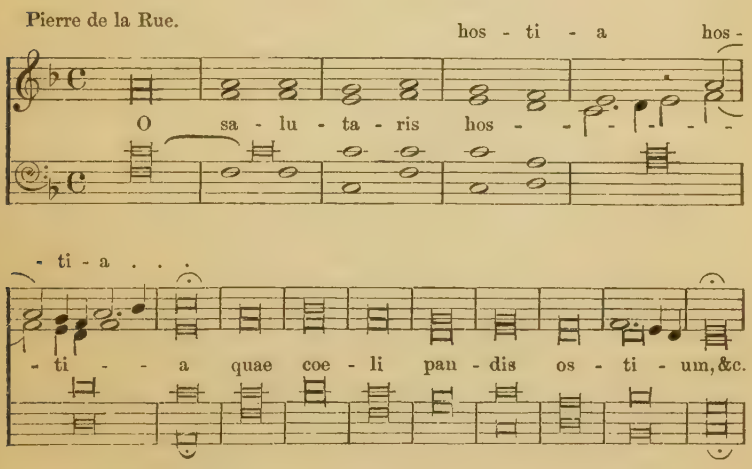
CHAPTER III

THE NETHERLAND SCHOOL

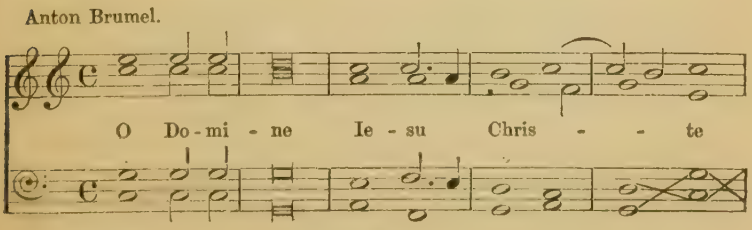
Although, as has been said, the great forward movement, seen chiefly in an advance towards intelligible musical expression founded upon harmonic propriety, which marks the close of the fifteenth century, was probably begun by Okeghem and Obrecht, the great extent of the progress which was actually accomplished by Josquin may be partly seen in a comparison of his work with that of the contemporaries who equally with himself inherited the traditions of the original reformers; and from this it will appear as probable that these composers did little, as compared with their great associate, in this special branch of the necessary work of the time. Pierre de la Rue, for instance, the master who perhaps among the contemporaries of Josquin stands next to him in talent, prefers to compete with him in general in the field of canonic and proportional contrivance, while in respect of clear and intelligible harmonic progressions, such as are constant and well sustained in the work of Josquin, his compositions do not even apparently invite comparison. The same is true as regards Gaspar, Alexander Agricola, Ghiselin, De Orto, and even of Anton Brumel, though with some modification in the case of the latter master, whose natural sense of harmonic propriety was perhaps as acute as that of Josquin himself, if not so frequently indulged. Indeed it may be said that while most of the masters just mentioned were perfectly able to construct a series of agreeable progressions, in any mode, in the form of simple chords, the old indifference to propriety is still generally apparent in their contrapuntal writing. Josquin's counterpoint, on the other hand, is rendered limpid by means of

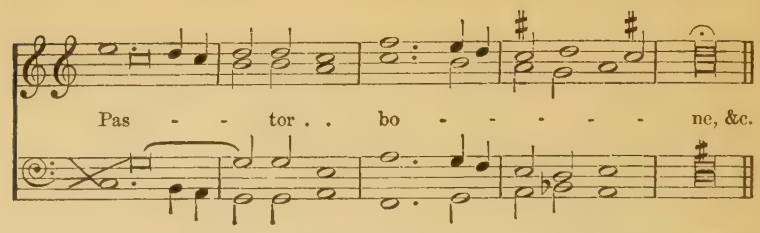
its harmonies, as we saw for instance in the extract given in our last chapter from the Psalm *Laudate pueri*, and in an even more remarkable example, considering the elaborate treatment—the *Sanctus* from the Mass *L'Homme armé*.

The situation perhaps most often chosen for the display of harmonic passages in the work of Josquin's contemporaries is at the beginning of the composition, where now in fact, and henceforward, groups of solid and closely related chords become the accepted and usual alternative of the fugal opening. A good example of the employment of plain harmony in this situation, from a motett by Pierre de la Rue, may be shown in short score:—



The same method is finely employed by Anton Brumel in the great motett for men's voices, *O Domine Iesu Christe*:—





In the body of the work plain harmonic passages often alternated with figured contrapuntal writing, as in the following fragments from Brumel:—

Anton Brumel.
Plain.
Figured.
Qui cum Pa - tre et fi - li - o si - mul a - do - ra -
si - mul a - do - ra - tur et
Plain.
Figured.
- tur et con - glo - ri - fi - ca - - - tur, &c.
con - glo - ri - fi - ca - - - - - - tur, &c.
Plain.
Figured.
Ca-tho-li-cam et a-pos-to-li - cam ec - cle - si-am, &c.

Another example, in which the harmonic writing assumes throughout a partly figured character, may be given from Gaspar's motett, *Virgo Maria*:—

Gaspar; Petrucci, Motetti, A. 33.
pro no - bis ad
In - ter - ce - de pro no - - - - - - bis ad
pro no - bis ad
Do - mi - num Ie - sum Chris - - - - -
Do - mi - num Ie - sum Chris-tum ad Do - - - mi -
Do - mi - num . Ie - sum Chris - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - tum . . . . . .
num Ie - - - - sum Chris - - - - tum . .
- - - tum Ie - - - sum Chris - tum.

The more extended examples of the immediate contemporaries of Josquin which here follow will give a fuller idea of their methods, and will probably confirm our opinion of the superior perception of Josquin himself in respect of the claims of harmony as an integral portion of the scheme of intelligible and expressive music. Were anything known as regards the early circumstances of these composers it might no doubt be possible to trace in their works influences and common tendencies of a more particular kind than a general descent from Okeghem and Obrecht will suggest; but our information respecting them—and indeed this is true in almost every case during the existence of the school—is chiefly confined to the

collections printed by Petrucci and others, in which their numerous names and works appear. Of Pierre de la Rue, for example, we know little beyond the fact that from 1492 to 1510 he was a member of the Burgundian ducal chapel, that works by him were published by Petrucci in 1501, 1505, 1513, 1516, &c., and that he was probably therefore popular. His fine Mass *De Sancto Antonio*, which appears in several collections, might illustrate not inappropriately our criticism of his methods; the effect of the progressions is somewhat vague, but the fact that Hypophrygian harmony was quite familiar to the writer is obvious.

Our example of Brumel is taken from an often-mentioned Mass, *De dringhs* or *dringhis*; the name, of which no explanation is ever offered, is printed by Glareanus in Greek. Here, as we should expect from the examples already given of this composer, the harmonic element is very distinctly perceptible, notwithstanding that the mode chosen—the transposed Lydian—is unusual, and its appropriate progressions and closes not immediately recognizable by our ears; the composition indeed in this point of view is extremely beautiful, the harmonies, whether simple or conveyed in figures, being quite full and rich in sound throughout. Brumel went in 1505 to Ferrara, to direct the chapel of Alfonso d'Este, and remained there till his death; it is not perhaps impossible that in the inclination of subsequent Italian composers, in Bologna, Ferrara, and Venice (before Willaert), towards the qualities which are conspicuous in his work, we may partly trace the influence of the master.

Gaspar, or Casper, van Weerbecke, to whom we may next turn our attention, occupied in the chapel of the Sforza at Milan a position similar to that of Brumel at Ferrara, but since his style is far from being so distinct and characteristic as that of Brumel, it is impossible to trace any influence which he may have exerted upon the music of north-western Italy. Our example gives a good idea of his contrapuntal writing. The

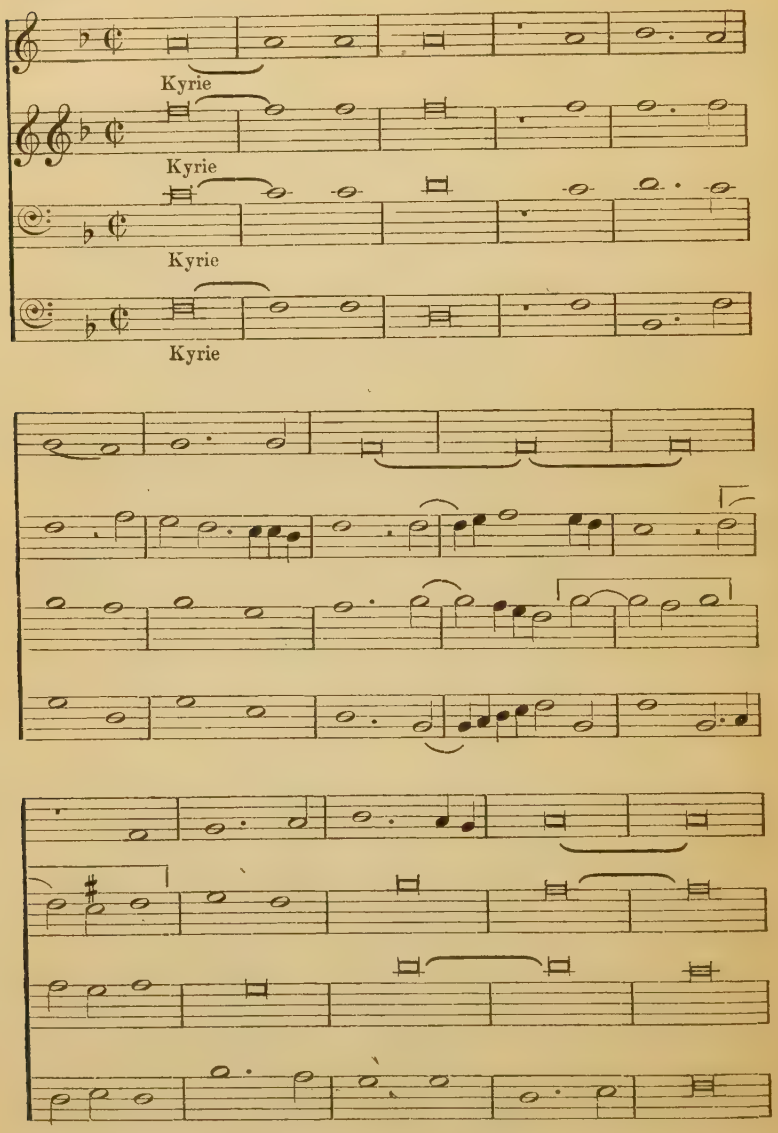
opening of the *Agnus*, here shown, is perhaps interesting from its fugal passage consisting of a double point; little however comes of this device, and the rest is somewhat tedious. From the close too it is evident that Gaspar, like Brumel, is still far from perceiving the principles which govern the accompaniment of certain suspended or syncopated discords. Indeed this may be said of all the composers of this time, for all were still experimenting with this portion of their material; only quite at the end of the whole development, when perfectly satisfactory formulae had been evolved from these experiments, were composers in a position to distinguish the principles towards which they had been striving. Meanwhile, certain of the cadences in constant use, those by the fourth and seventh, for example, were already often quite correctly accompanied; so that the propriety and beauty of cadences may often mislead us with respect to the merit of a writer, as for instance in the motett *Ego dormio*, by De Vinea, where the closes are beautiful—one 'flat cadence' on E♭–D especially—and admirably approached, yet the rest of the work is poor, timid, and ineffective. The motett, however, has been given here as a fair specimen of the work of the mediocre and undistinguished contemporaries of Josquin, of whom a considerable number are known to have lived and laboured. The little song, *La Alfonsina*, on the other hand, of which the energetic opening is shown here, reveals to us a man of originality and of considerable strength. Not much of Ghiselin's work remains, but it is for the most part marked by the same characteristics as this example. Nicolaus Craen is another composer who may be thought to be, like Ghiselin, above mediocrity, though perhaps not remarkably so; a short extract from his work, however, may very well conclude our examination of the group of Josquin's contemporaries, the men who like himself had inherited, and in the measure of their abilities had advanced, the methods derived from Okeghem, Busnois, and Obrecht.

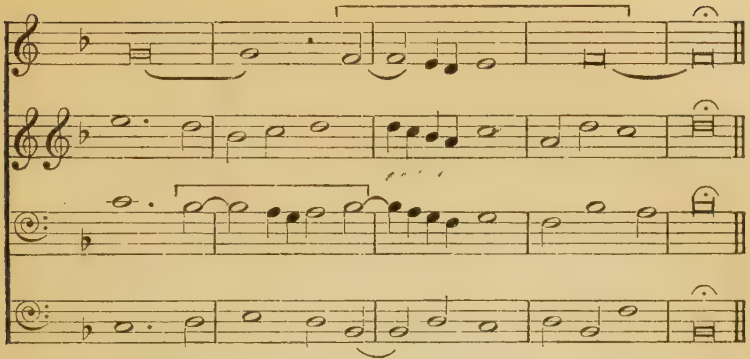
Mass: De dringhis.

KYRIE.

Missarum diversorum auctorum liber primus.
Venice: Petrucci, 1508.

Antonius Brumel.



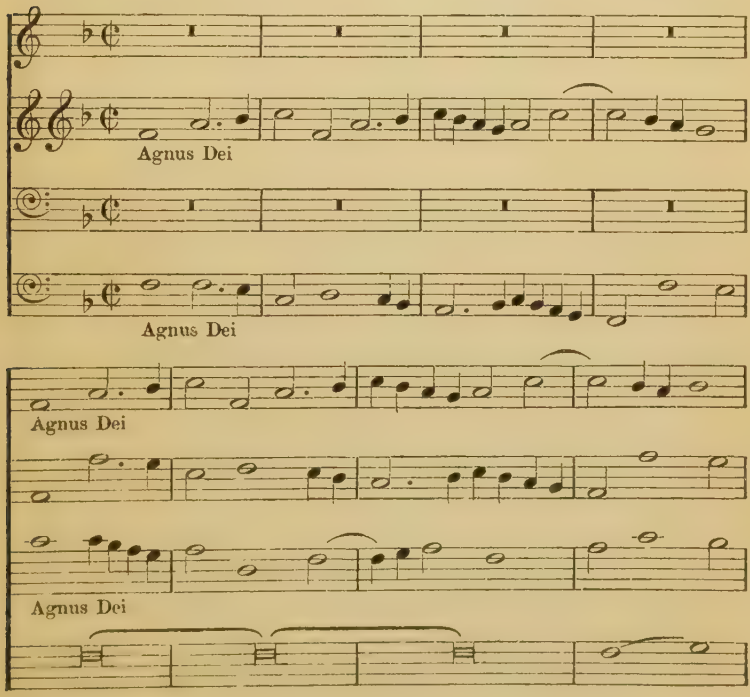


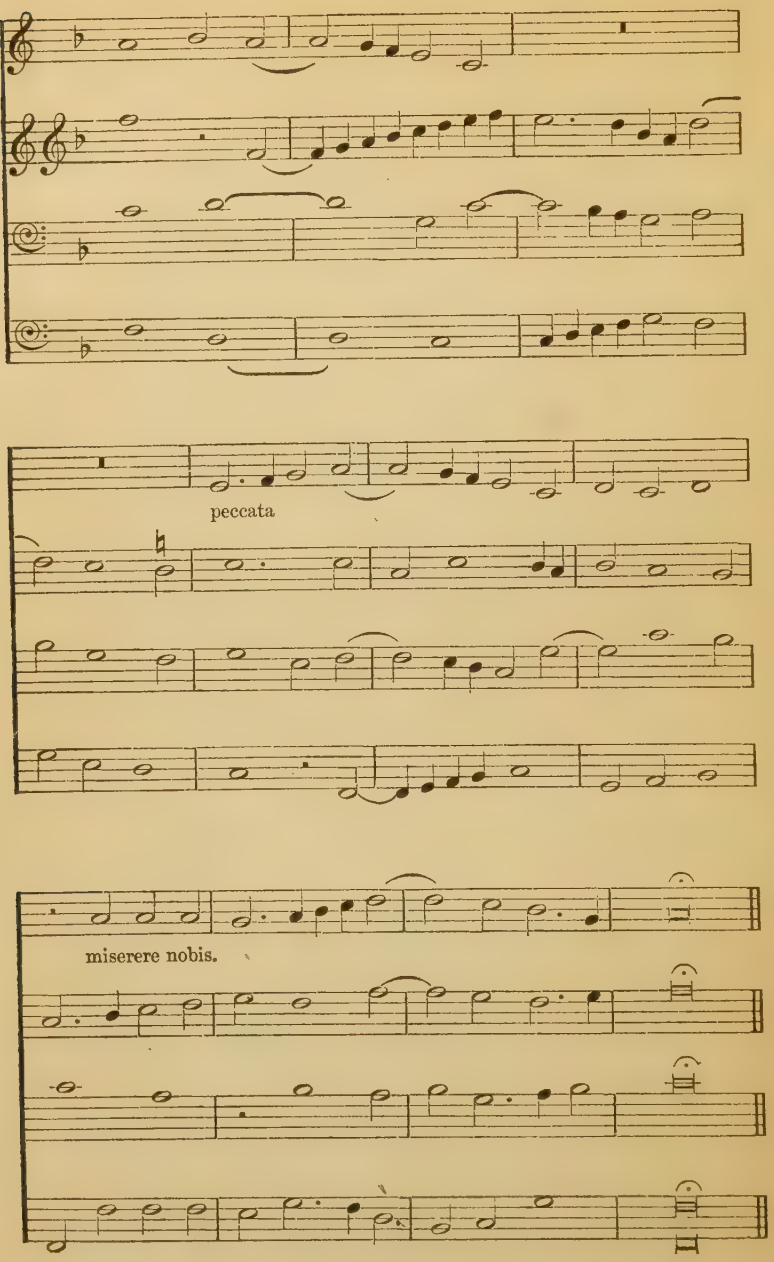
Mass.

N'AS-TU PAS?

AGNUS DEI.

Missarum diversorum auctorum liber primus.
Venice: Petrucci, 1508. Gaspar van Weerbecke.

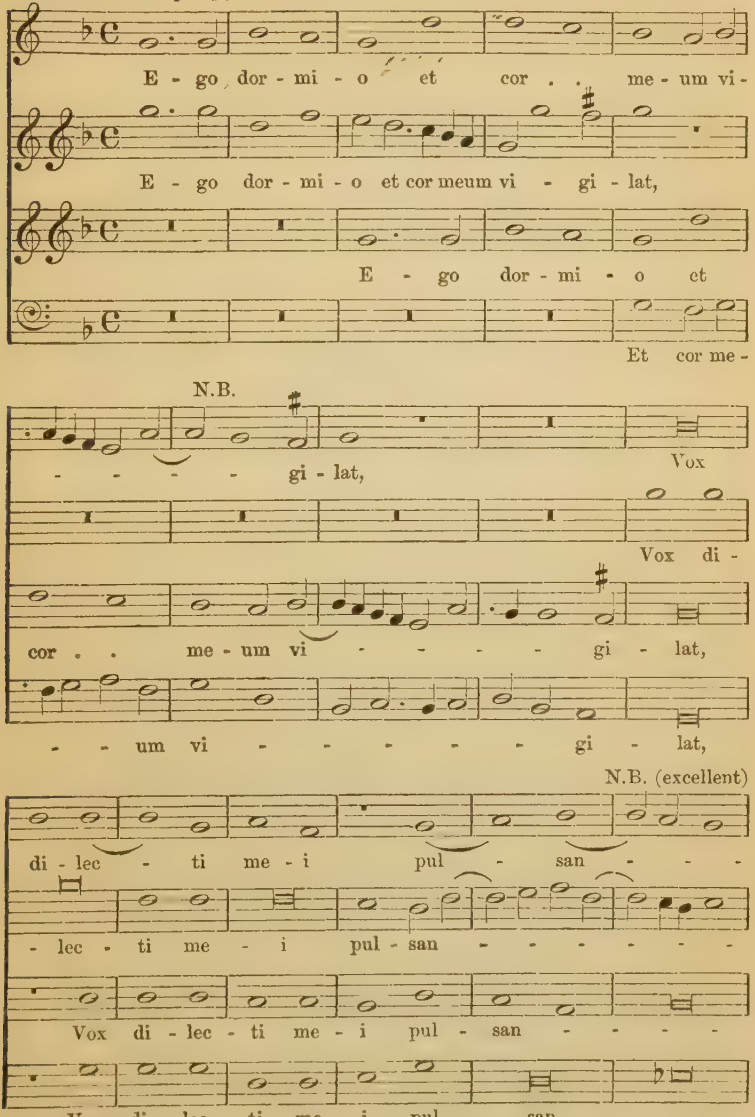


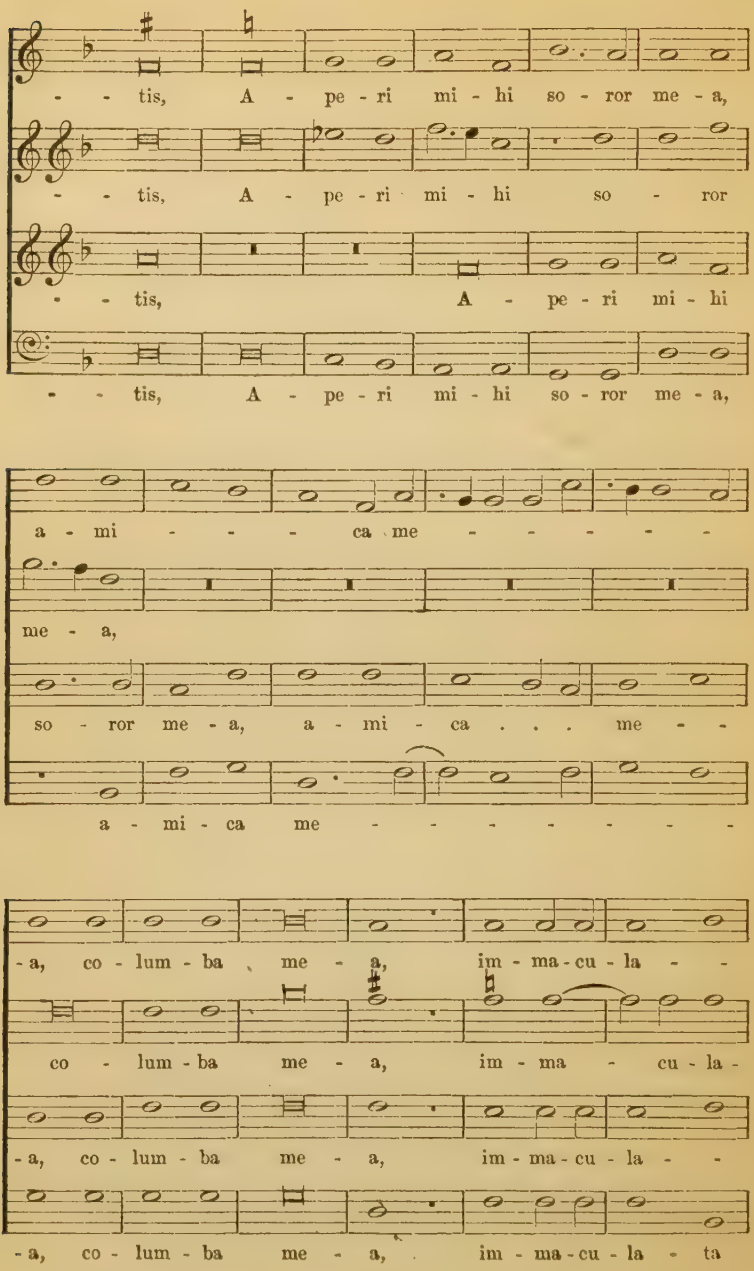

peccata
miserere nobis.

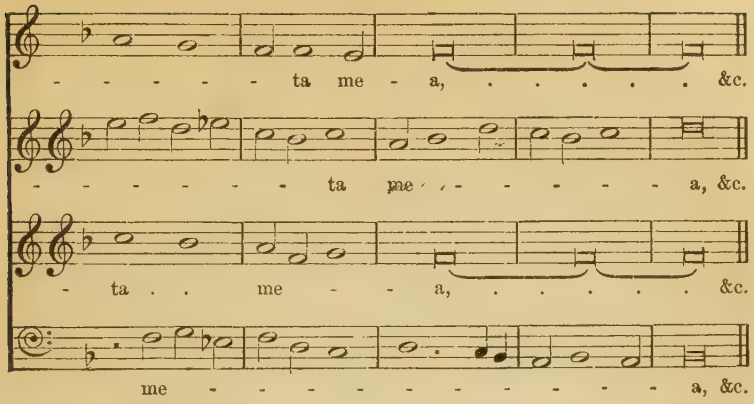
Motett.

EGO DORMIO.

Glareanus, Dodecachordon, p. 254. (*Opening portion.*) A. de Vinea.


E - go dor - mi - o et cor . . me - um vi -
E - go dor - mi - o et cor meum vi - gi - lat,
E - go dor - mi - o et
Et cor me -
N.B.
- - - - - gi - lat,
Vox
Vox di -
cor . . me - um vi - - - - - gi - lat,
- - um vi - - - - - - gi - lat,
N.B. (excellent)
di - lec - ti me - i pul - san - - -
- lec - ti me - i pul - san - - - - - - -
Vox di - lec - ti me - i pul - san - - - -
Vox di - lec - ti me - i pul - san - - -

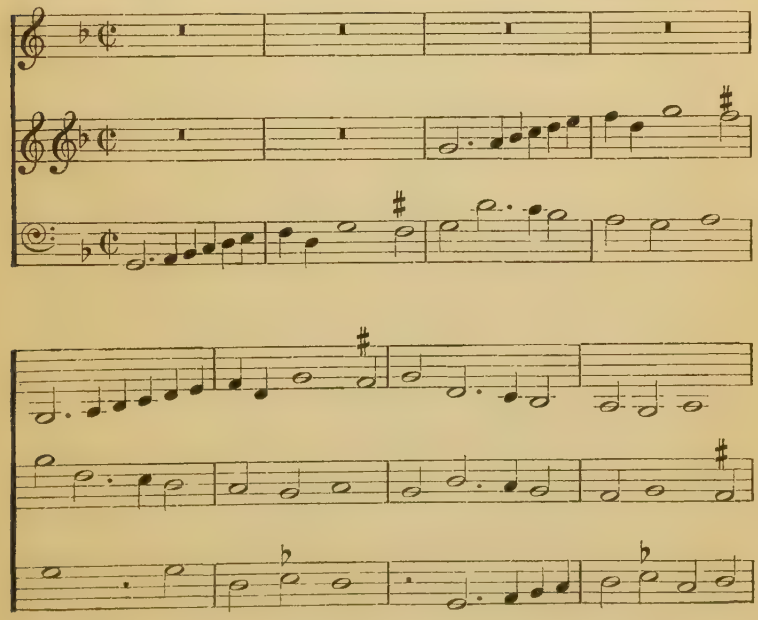

- - tis, A - pe - ri mi - hi so - ror me - a,
- - tis, A - pe - ri mi - hi so - ror
- - tis, A - pe - ri mi - hi
- - tis, A - pe - ri mi - hi so - ror me - a,
a - mi - - - ca me - - - - - -
me - a,
so - ror me - a, a - mi - ca . . . me - -
a - mi - ca me - - - - - - - -
- a, co - lum - ba me - a, im - ma - cu - la - -
co - lum - ba me - a, im - ma - cu - la -
- a, co - lum - ba me - a, im - ma - cu - la - -
- a, co - lum - ba me - a, im - ma - cu - la - ta

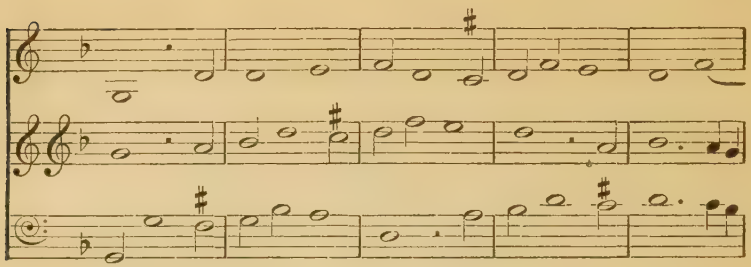


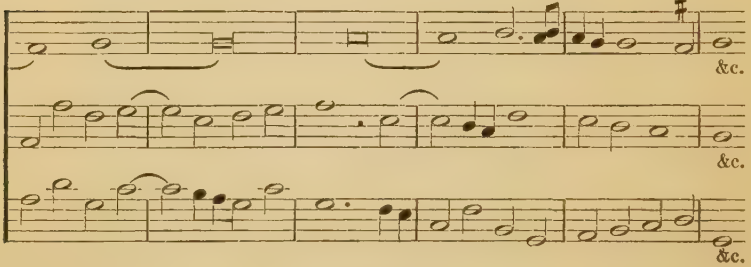
La Alfonsina.

Song.

Petrucci, Odhecaton, Venice, 1501. Iohannes Ghiselin.





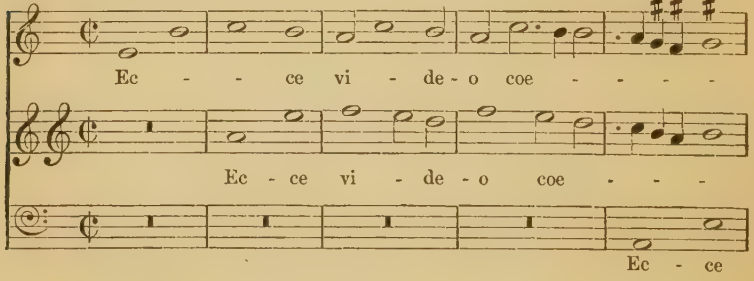


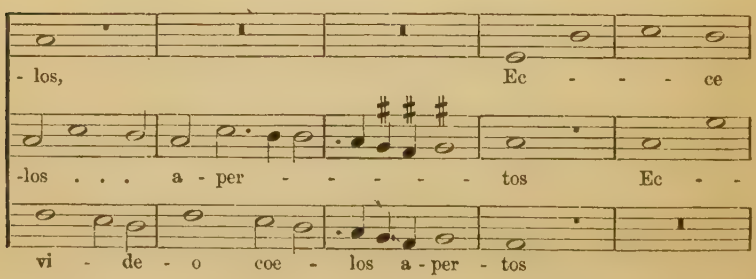
Motett.

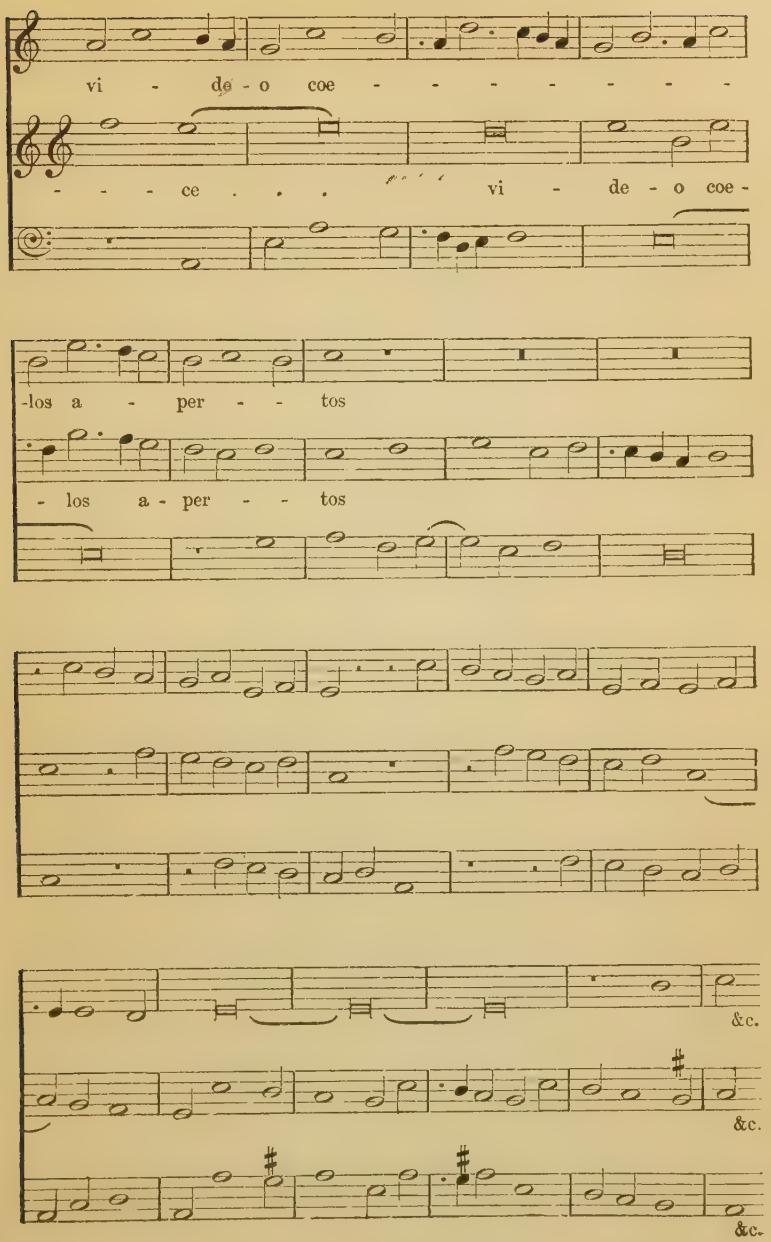
ECCE VIDEO.

(Opening portion.)

Glareanus, Dodecachordon, p. 326. Nicolaus Craen.






vi - de - o coe - - - - - - - -
- - - - ce . . . vi - de - o coe -
-los a - per - - tos
- los a - per - - tos
&c.
&c.
&c.

Ambros, in his *Geschichte der Musik*, iii. 252, includes within the group which we have just examined one other composer, of the same generation apparently as Josquin and belonging originally to the same school,—Loyset Compère, an important writer, whose music is illustrated in our next following example. The general date, however, of Compère should probably be stated as somewhat earlier, since we may perhaps gather from the words of a composition in the Trient Codex 91, fol. 33[1], that about the year 1468, at the beginning probably of his career, he belonged, together with Josquin, to the circle which had formed round the aged Dufay at Cambrai. Not many of his works are known, but those which have been examined reveal, upon the whole, strongly harmonic tendencies, and may well have played a great part in that transition from vague tonality to decided and intelligible progression, which, as we have already said, must have been one of the chief results obtained from the great awakening of music during the latter half of the fifteenth century. In the beautiful example which we give, a fragment from the motett *Bone Iesu*, the harmonic tendency is visible throughout. The chords employed are triads; the progressions are such as are proper to Mixolydian harmony, and they are everywhere used with the most perfect taste and judgement. It will no doubt be observed that the accompaniment of the cadence is unsuccessful at the place marked; but in this matter Compère is not behind his time, since the essential structure of the parts in concluding passages—except as regards the suspended fourth to the bass, respecting which there was now no doubt—was still undetermined.

To the same group also properly belongs Heinrich Isaak, a powerful and prolific composer, in learning and ingenuity but

[1] A hymn to the Virgin, *Omnium bonorum plena*, &c., which concludes with a prayer for intercession on behalf of musicians, naming especially Dufay, and continuing, 'proque Dussart, Busnois, Caron, Georget de Brelles, Tinctoris, Okeghem, Desprès, Corbet, Heniart, Faugues, Molinet, Regis, omnibusque canentibus. Simul et me Loiset Compère orante.' Dr. Adler, in his admirable edition of the Trient MSS., assigns the codex in which this hymn appears to the year 1470, just before the death of Dufay.

little inferior to Okeghem, and nearly the equal of Obrecht as regards expression. No very special characteristic can be said to mark his compositions, which rather partake of most of the excellences of his fellow workers in turn. Glareanus, who especially admired his work, gives many specimens, and among them draws particular attention to an enigmatical motett, of which he also prints a solution. This well exhibits the 'proportional' ingenuity of the composer; our own example, on the other hand, reveals his mastery of canonic imitation. The constancy with which the leading point appears throughout the composition in fresh relations, the opening phrase also closing the work, is most remarkable. It is said that Isaak came from Germany. Certainly he ended his life in that country, where for some years he had formed the centre of a small circle, including Hoffhaimer, Holzer, Heinrich Finck, and his own pupil Senfl, the contemporary and friend of Luther. Isaak also paid two visits to Florence—the first being mentioned (for so Glareanus says) by Politian, and the second by P. Aron in his well-known work on music—but it does not appear that he originated there any tradition of composition. Such influence as he was able to exert was displayed in Germany, where his followers are often said to constitute a German School.

MOTETT.

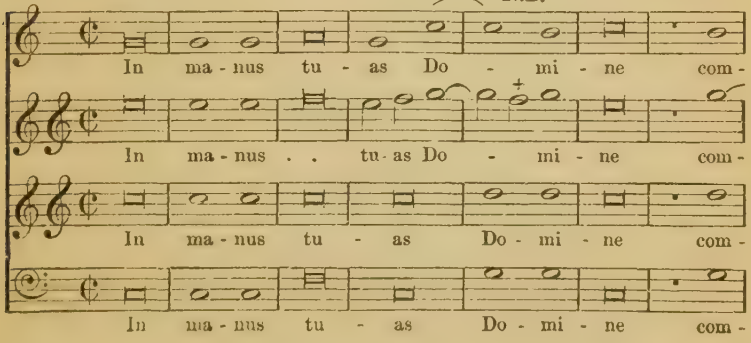
BONE IESU.

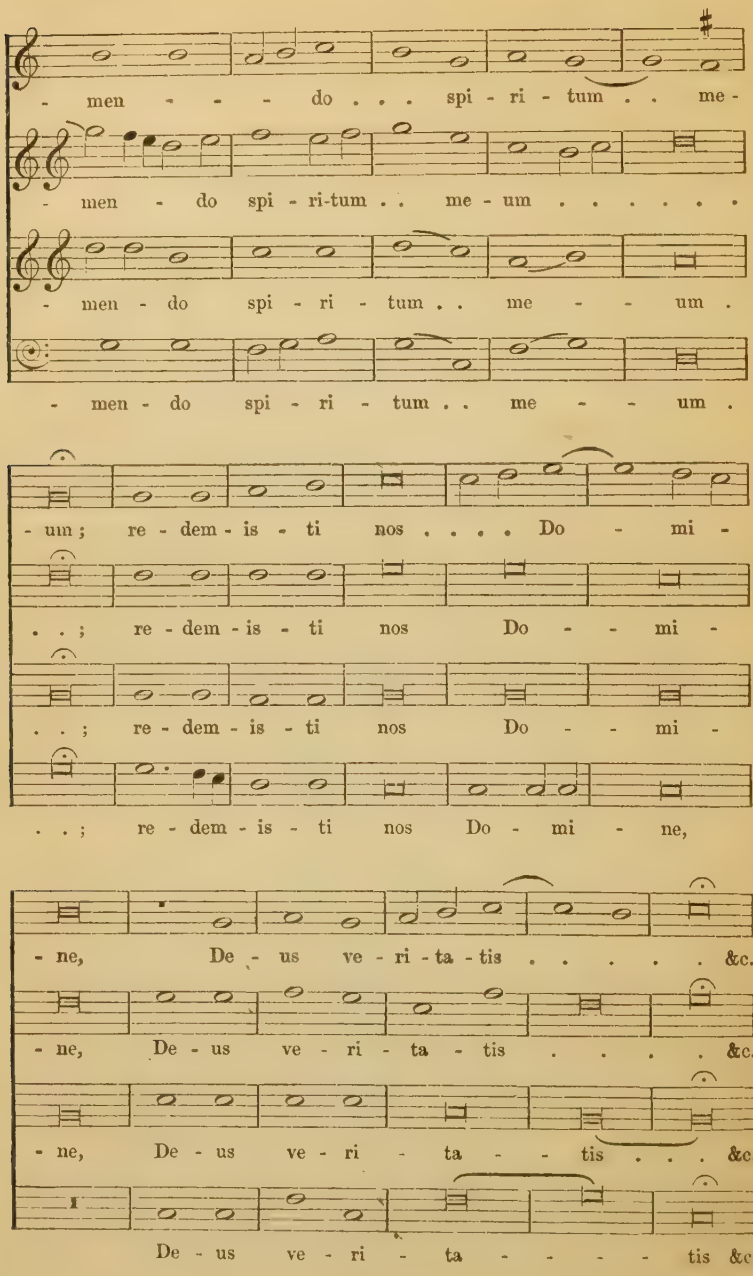
Motetti della corona,
Lib. iii. Petrucci, 1519.

(*Middle portion.*)

N.B.

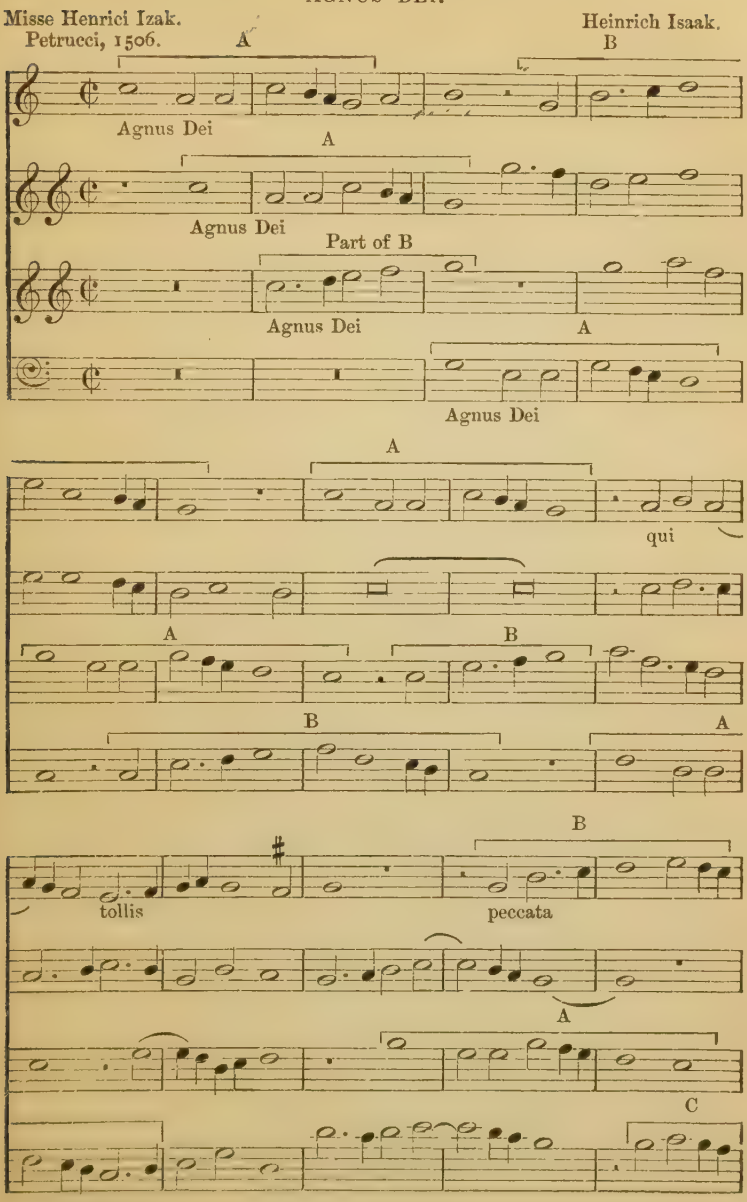
Loyset Compère.

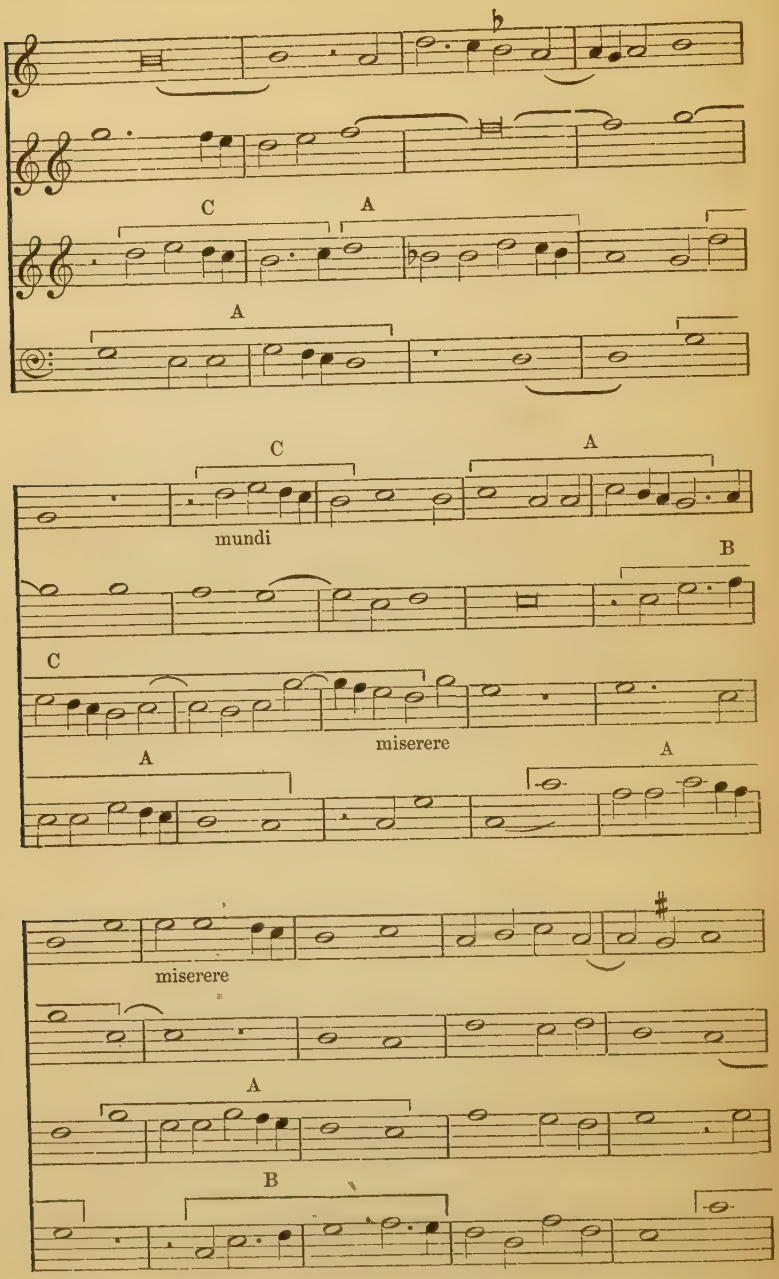


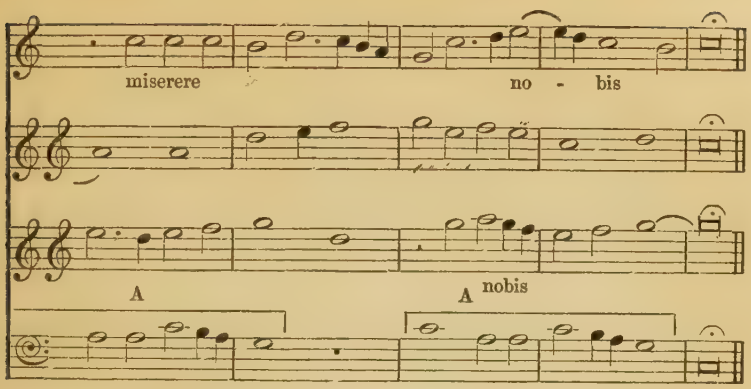

- men - - - do . . . spi - ri - tum . . me -
- men - do spi - ri-tum . . me - um . . . . . .
- men - do spi - ri - tum . . me - - - um .
- men - do spi - ri - tum . . me - - - um .
- um ; re - dem - is - ti nos . . . . Do - mi -
. . ; re - dem - is - ti nos Do - - mi -
. . ; re - dem - is - ti nos Do - - mi -
. . ; re - dem - is - ti nos Do - mi - ne,
- ne, De - us ve - ri - ta - tis . . . . . &c.
- ne, De - us ve - ri - ta - tis . . . . &c.
- ne, De - us ve - ri - ta - - tis . . . &c.
De - us ve - ri - ta - - - - - tis &c.

Mass: 'Charge de deuil.'

Agnus Dei.




C
A
A
C
A
mundi
B
C
miserere
A
A
miserere
A
B



Before passing on to consider the next generation of composers, mention should be made of Josquin's younger contemporaries —of the men, that is to say, to whom the methods of the reconstructed art of music came not directly from the original reformers but through Josquin himself. Of these some no doubt were his actual pupils, receiving personal instruction, while others followed his methods closely by means of the MSS. in circulation and of the various printed collections which were now, about the year 1510, beginning to appear; in the work of all may be seen, in various degrees, the same governing principles, both technical and ideal, as in that of Josquin, namely, the use of fugal imitation as an essentially constructive device, and of intelligible harmonic progression not only as imparting a general intention to the composition apart from words, but also as a means of creating definite states of feeling in the mind of the hearer. The principal composers of this group are Mouton, Divitis (both singers in the chapel of Louis XII), Lhéritier, Anton de Févin, Carpentras (Eleazar Genet), director of the Sistine Chapel under Leo X, Lupus, F. de Layolle, and Andreas de Silva—all excellent. In giving a few examples from their works we may begin with the first Kyrie from the Mass *Sancta Trinitas*, by Anton de Févin.

This admirable writer did not live to fulfil entirely the promise of his earliest compositions, dying young indeed, in 1516, four or five years before Josquin himself; but though his life was short the contribution towards the formation of the new music which is contained in his remaining works is very considerable. It is also of a kind rather unusual at this period, in which the establishment of the new technique alone seemed all-important. Févin, as we see, was perhaps not so much concerned either with harmonic propriety or with fugal imitation as were some others of the group; he devotes himself rather to the study of combined sounds from the point of view of an increase of their beauty. Passages in which this aim may be thought to be apparent are to be seen even in our short example, especially at the word 'eleyson.' The author shows in general a strong predilection for the exquisite effect of overlapping cadences, which, though not absolutely new even in his time, is more beautifully introduced by him, and with greater correctness, according to the later standard, than hitherto.

The motett, *Noë noë*, by Mouton, is entirely in the style of Josquin, and might indeed very well pass for a work of that master, in the somewhat hard manner which he sometimes employs; for notwithstanding its two fine points, one of which —that at the opening—is shown in the specimen given below, there is sometimes a considerable bareness of effect in the work, owing to open fifths and octaves and the choice of wrong notes to double. In short, a greater contrast than this to the work of Févin, in all respects, could hardly be found; yet the composition presents an appearance of ease and mastery in the application of the current means, which renders it a worthy example of the central school, and of its accomplishment.

There is little, on the other hand, to remind us of Josquin in the methods of Layolle, a French Fleming who was much in Italy, where he taught music, and is said indeed to have numbered Benvenuto Cellini among his pupils. The work from which we give a fragment—a *Noël*, like that of Mouton

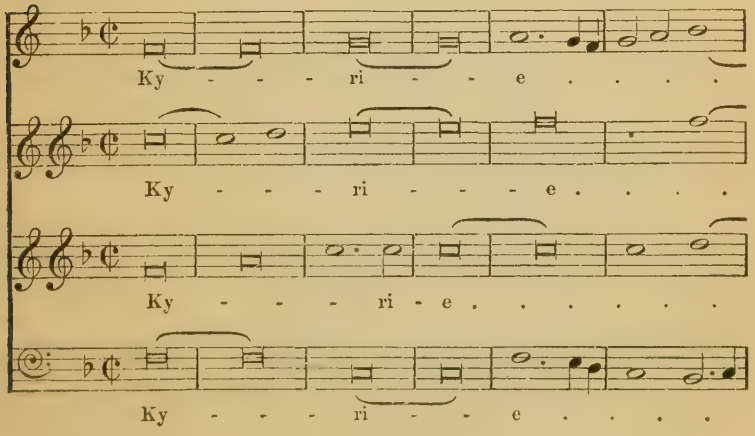
—affords an excellent indication of one of the chief possible sources of variety and beauty in polyphonic composition, namely, the definite effect produced in the whole work by the character of the phrases adopted as subjects of imitation. Even when the aim is also largely harmonic, the flow of the individual parts, repeating and echoing the same phrase—as for instance in the author's second point in this composition, the charming 'hodie natus est nobis'—gives to the whole passage in which the point is worked a peculiar colouring, due to the constant reflection in all directions of the special melodic quality of the phrase employed. This fact is of real importance, for as a rule it is the presence or absence of this melodic quality in the individual points of the composition which principally constitutes the polyphonic work as either interesting or wearisome. Josquin himself was of course not ignorant of this means of effect; but in the work of Layolle we see it somewhat more specialized, and in a somewhat more advanced form.

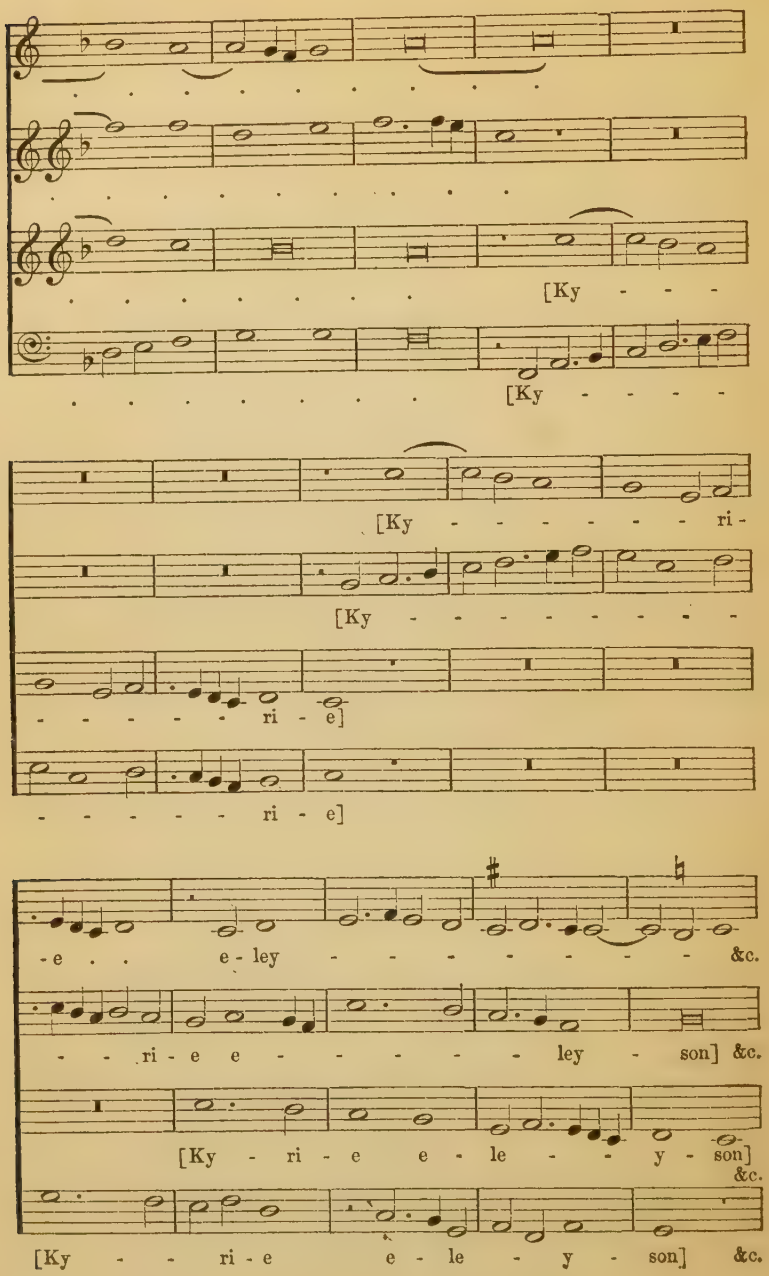
MASS: SANCTA TRINITAS.

KYRIE.

Missae Antonii de Févin.
Petrucci, 1515.

A. de Févin.



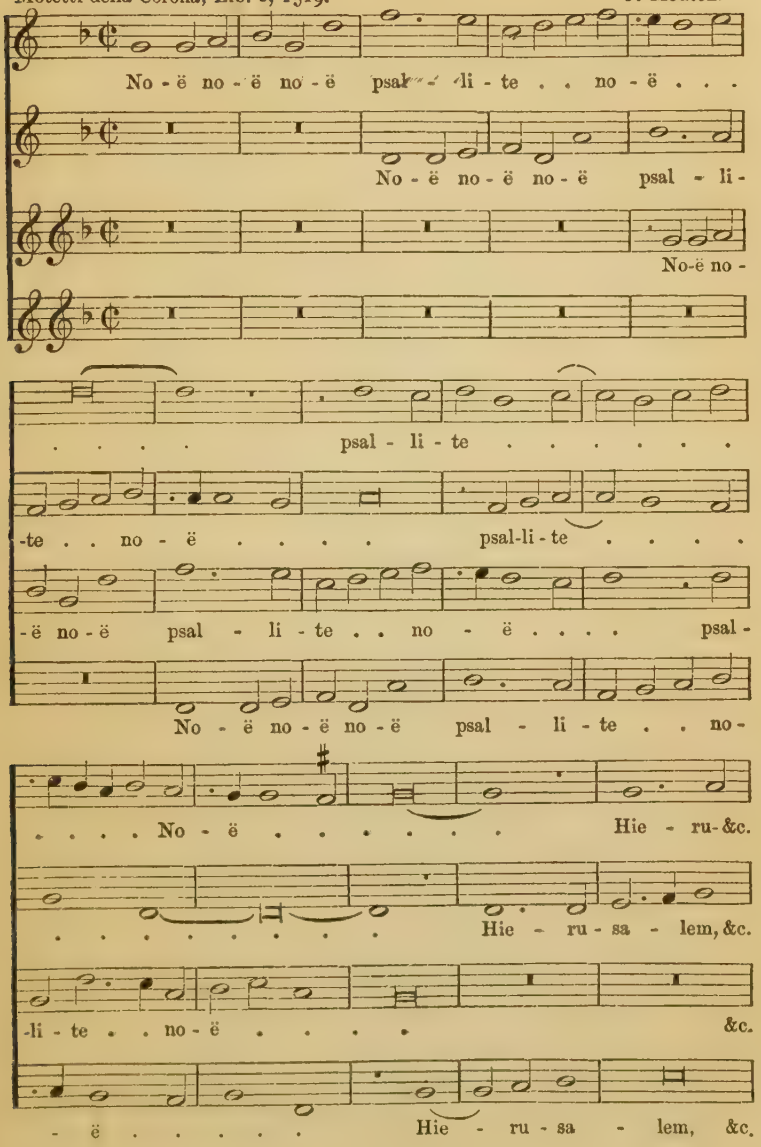

[Ky - - -
[Ky - - - - -
[Ky - - - - - - - - ri -
[Ky - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - ri - e]
- - - - - - ri - e]
- e . . e - ley - - - - - - - - &c.
- - - ri - e e - - - - - - ley - son] &c.
[Ky - ri - e e - le - - y - son] &c.
[Ky - - - ri - e e - le - y - son] &c.

Motett.

NOË NOË.

(Opening portion.)

Motetti della Corona, Lib. 2, 1519. J. Mouton.

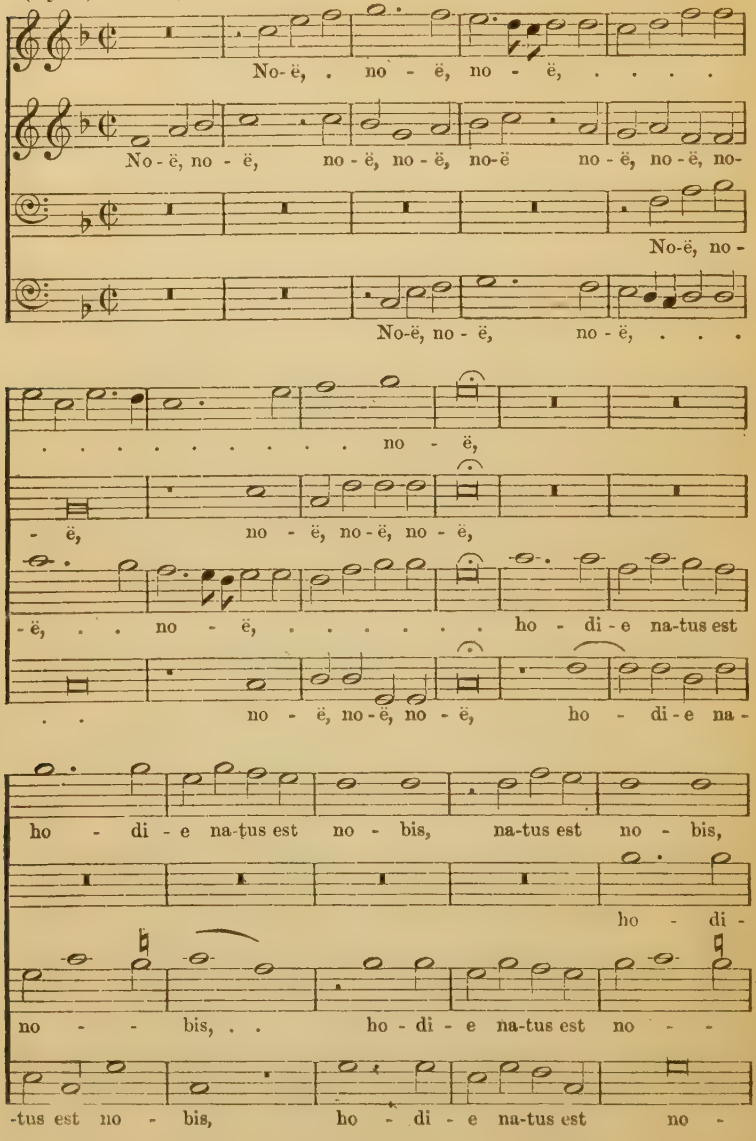

No - ë no - ë no - ë psal - li - te . . no - ë . . .
No - ë no - ë no - ë psal - li -
No-ë no -
. . . . psal - li - te . . . . . .
-te . . no - ë . . . . psal-li - te . . . . .
-ë no - ë psal - li - te . . no - ë . . . . psal -
No - ë no - ë no - ë psal - li - te . . no -
. . . . No - ë . . . . . Hie - ru-&c.
. . . . . Hie - ru - sa - lem, &c.
-li - te . . no - ë . . . . &c.
- ë . . . . . Hie - ru - sa - lem, &c.

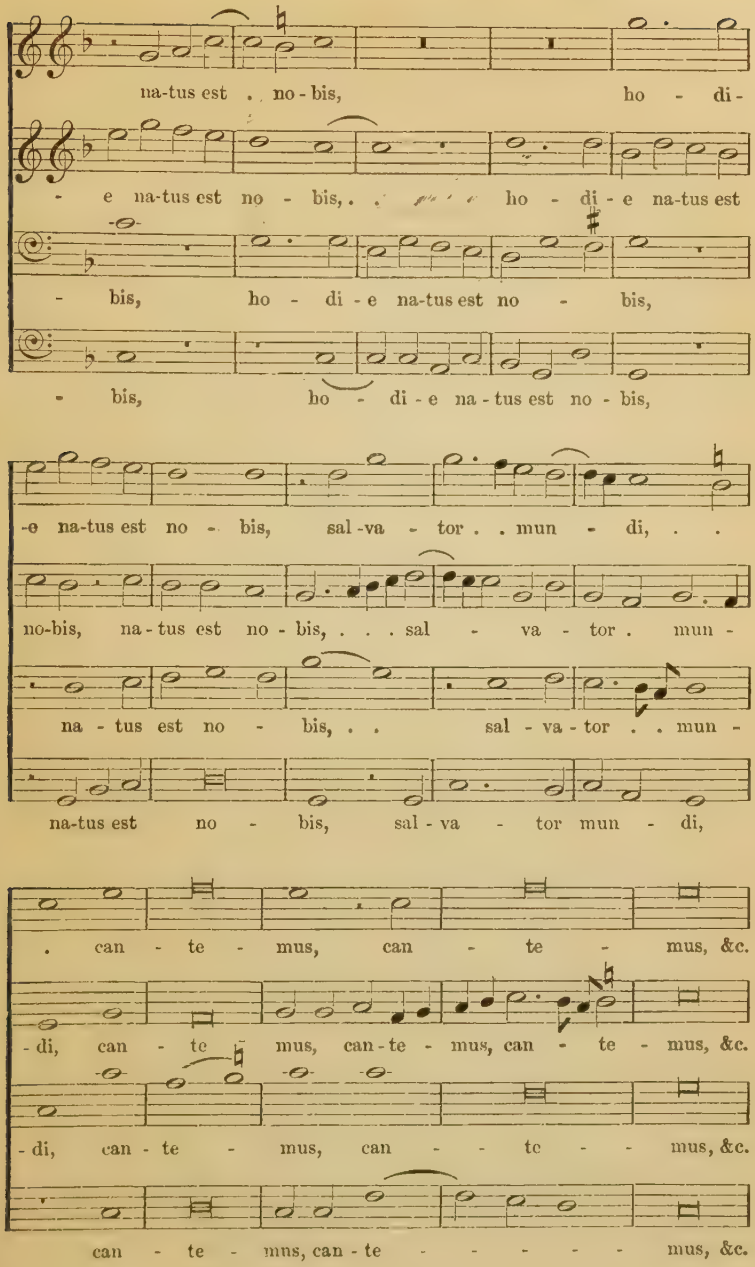
Motett.

NOË, NOË, NOË, HODIE NATUS EST.

Secundus liber cum quatuor vocibus. Motetti del fiore. (Lyons, Moderne, 1532.) *(Opening portion.)*

F. de Layolle.


No-ë, . no - ë, no - ë, ...
No - ë, no - ë, no - ë, no - ë, no-ë no - ë, no - ë, no-
No-ë, no -
No-ë, no - ë, no - ë, . . .
. . . . . no - ë,
- ë, no - ë, no - ë, no - ë,
- ë, . . no - ë, ... ho - di - e na-tus est
. . no - ë, no - ë, no - ë, ho - di - e na -
ho - di - e na-tus est no - bis, na-tus est no - bis,
ho - di -
no - - bis, . . ho - di - e na-tus est no - -
-tus est no - bis, ho - di - e na-tus est no -


na-tus est . no-bis, ho - di-
- e na-tus est no - bis, . . ho - di - e na-tus est
- bis, ho - di - e na-tus est no - bis,
- bis, ho - di - e na - tus est no - bis,
-e na-tus est no - bis, sal-va - tor . . mun - di, . .
no-bis, na - tus est no - bis, . . . sal - va - tor . mun -
na - tus est no - bis, . . sal - va - tor . . mun -
na-tus est no - bis, sal - va - tor mun - di,
. can - te - mus, can - te - mus, &c.
- di, can - te - mus, can - te - mus, can - te - mus, &c.
- di, can - te - mus, can - - te - - mus, &c.
can - te - mus, can - te - - - - - mus, &c.

The tendencies which we have just seen displayed in the compositions of Josquin's younger contemporaries, tendencies towards the elaboration of the more beautiful and enjoyable qualities of music, are even more strongly evident in the work of the succeeding generation, where no means were now employed which could hinder the clear and spontaneous expression of the particular kind of sentiment which it was the desire of the composer to suggest. 'Proportional' devices, therefore, and intricate fugal problems, being of no use, but rather the contrary, in conveying the expression of feeling, were now, since the death of Josquin, banished from the composition, and the remainder of the technique bequeathed to the school by the master was adopted as the whole of the available means. It is to the perfection of this remainder that we now see the younger generation applying itself as its complete duty, and in the compositions of Gombert, Richafort, and Willaert, for instance, we perceive the earliest results of the effort. In the examples which we give from the works of these masters it is already evident that their technique is, or may soon become, amply sufficient for the attainment of all that is most desirable in music—purity of sound and beauty of expression, embellishing a perfect structure. It is true that perfection, of any kind, is not yet reached, nor even perhaps yet perceived; but the way is at last opened by which it will actually be found.

To our examples of the three masters just mentioned may be added a specimen of the composition of a rather younger contemporary, Jacques Clément (commonly called *non Papa*), in the whole of whose work the most noble and elevated pursuit of the new aims is remarkably exemplified. We there perceive especially the effort towards the production of a fuller and closer texture of parts in the composition than any that had hitherto been thought sufficient. The long pauses, therefore, of the old style, which often gave to a composition of five real parts the power and effect of only three or four, are abandoned in the works of Clément, and the entire strength of the means

is seen as exerted throughout. And this method, which is here combined with a perfect balance of polyphonic interest in all the parts, gives rise to works which in themselves are the most triumphant vindication of the banishment of the elder forms that could be desired, and heralds of that ultimate complete success, and establishment of unalterable forms of beauty, which was now the conscious end of all effort.

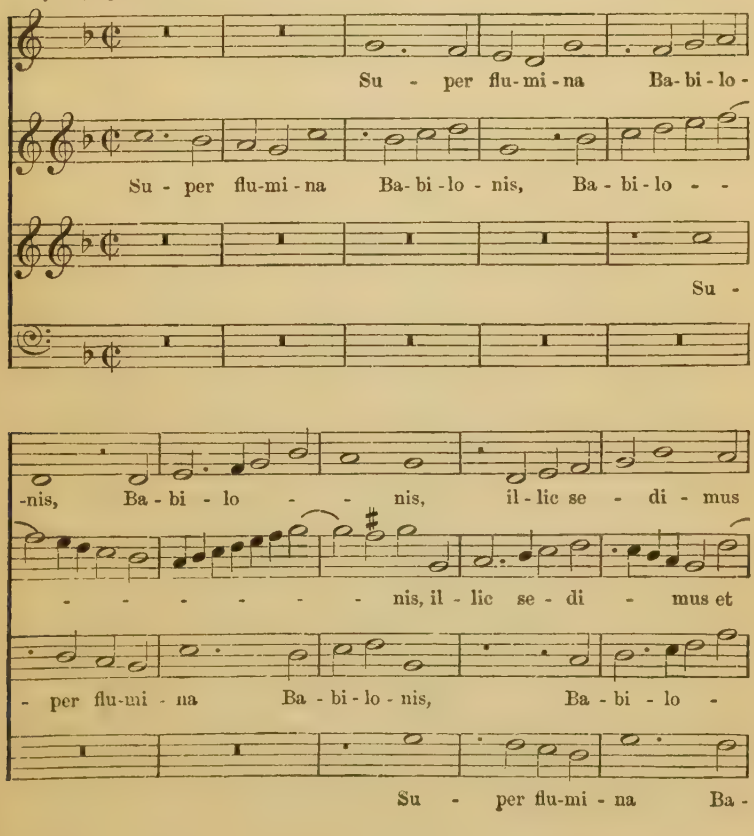
MOTETT.

(*First Part.*)

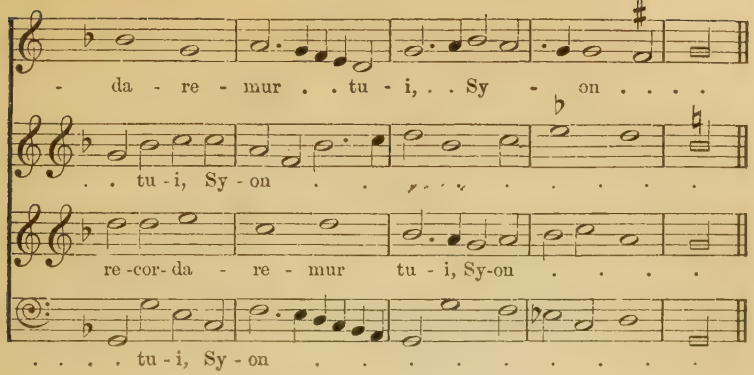
SUPER FLUMINA.

Motetti del fiore, liber primus.
Lyons, 1532.

N. Gombert.


Su - per flu-mi-na Ba-bi-lo-
Su - per flu-mi-na Ba-bi-lo - nis, Ba - bi-lo - -
Su -
-nis, Ba - bi - lo - - nis, il - lic se - di - mus
- - - - - - - nis, il - lic se - di - mus et
- per flu-mi - na Ba - bi - lo - nis, Ba - bi - lo -
Su - per flu-mi - na Ba -

. . . . . et fle - vi - mus, . et fle -
. . fle - vi - mus . . . . . il-lic se - di - mus et
- - - nis . . il - lic se-di-mus, il -
- bi-lo - nis, Ba-bi - lo - nis . . . . .
N.B.
- vi - mus, ... dum re-cor -
fle -vi- mus, ... dum
- lic se - di - mus et . . fle-vi - mus, . . . dum re-cor - da -
il - lic se - di-mus . . et fle - vi - mus, dum re-cor -
- da - re - mur, dum re-cor - da - re - mur, dum re - cor -
re - cor - da - re - mur, dum re-cor - da- re - mur . . . .
- re - mur, dum re-cor - da - re - mur, dum
- da - re - mur, dum re-cor - da - re - mur . . . .



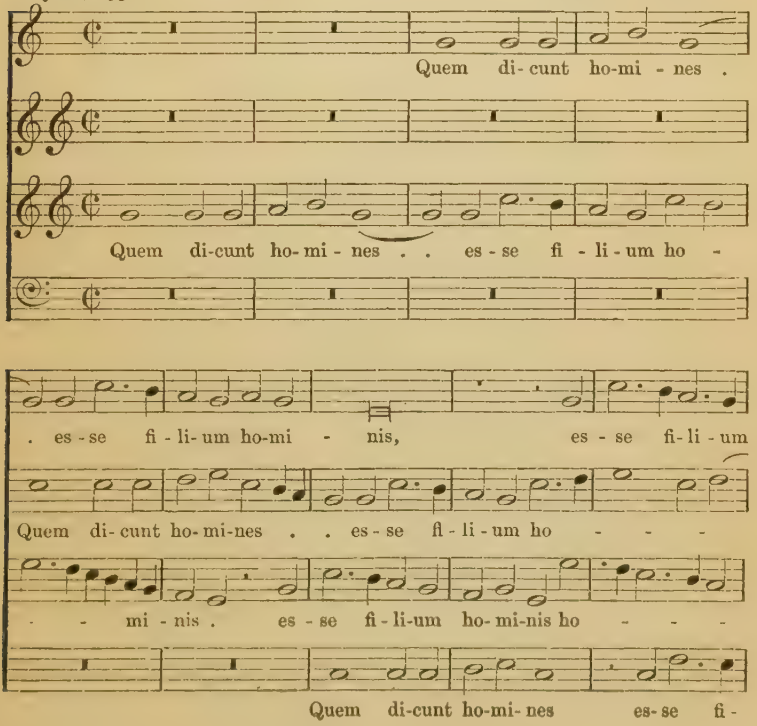
Motett.

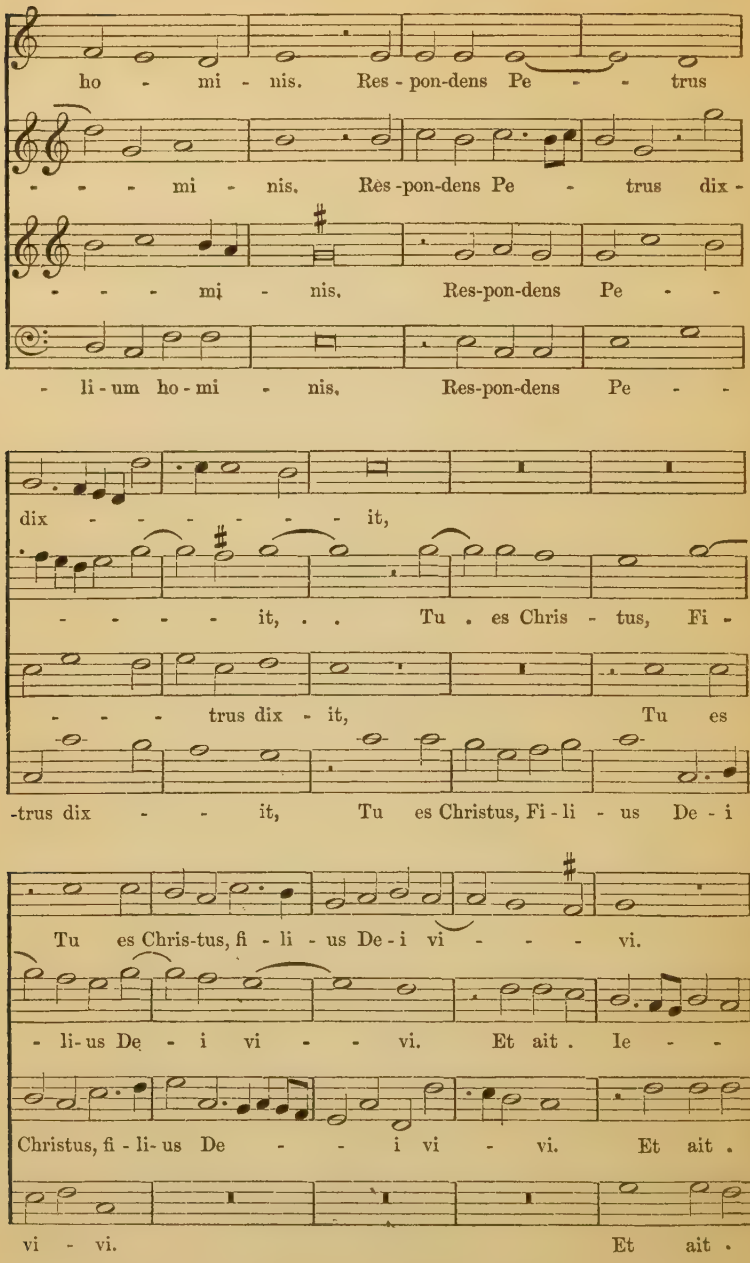
QUEM DICUNT HOMINES.

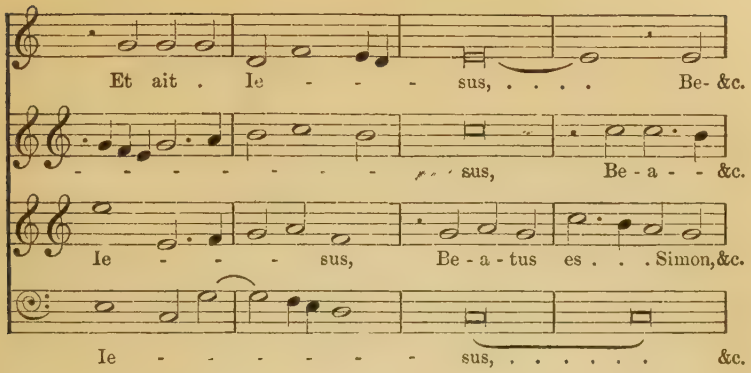
(Opening portion.)

Motetti del fiore, liber primus.
Lyons, 1532.

Iohannes Richafort.


Quem di - cunt ho - mi - nes .
Quem di - cunt ho - mi - nes . . es - se fi - li - um ho -
. es - se fi - li - um ho - mi - nis, es - se fi - li - um
Quem di - cunt ho - mi - nes . . es - se fi - li - um ho - - -
- - mi - nis . es - se fi - li - um ho - mi - nis ho - - -
Quem di - cunt ho - mi - nes es - se fi -


ho - mi - nis. Res - pon-dens Pe - - trus
- - - mi - nis. Res-pon-dens Pe - trus dix -
- - - mi - nis. Res-pon-dens Pe - -
- li-um ho-mi - nis. Res-pon-dens Pe - -
dix - - - - - - it,
- - - - - it, . . Tu . es Chris - tus, Fi -
- - - trus dix - it, Tu es
-trus dix - - it, Tu es Christus, Fi - li - us De - i
Tu es Chris-tus, fi - li - us De - i vi - - - vi.
- li-us De - i vi - - - vi. Et ait . Ie - -
Christus, fi - li-us De - - - i vi - vi. Et ait .
vi - vi. Et ait .

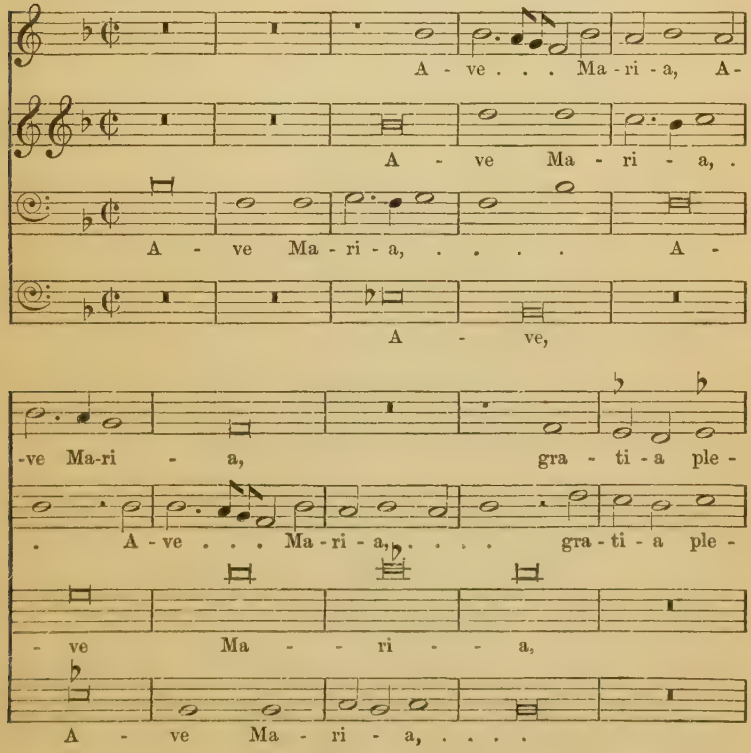


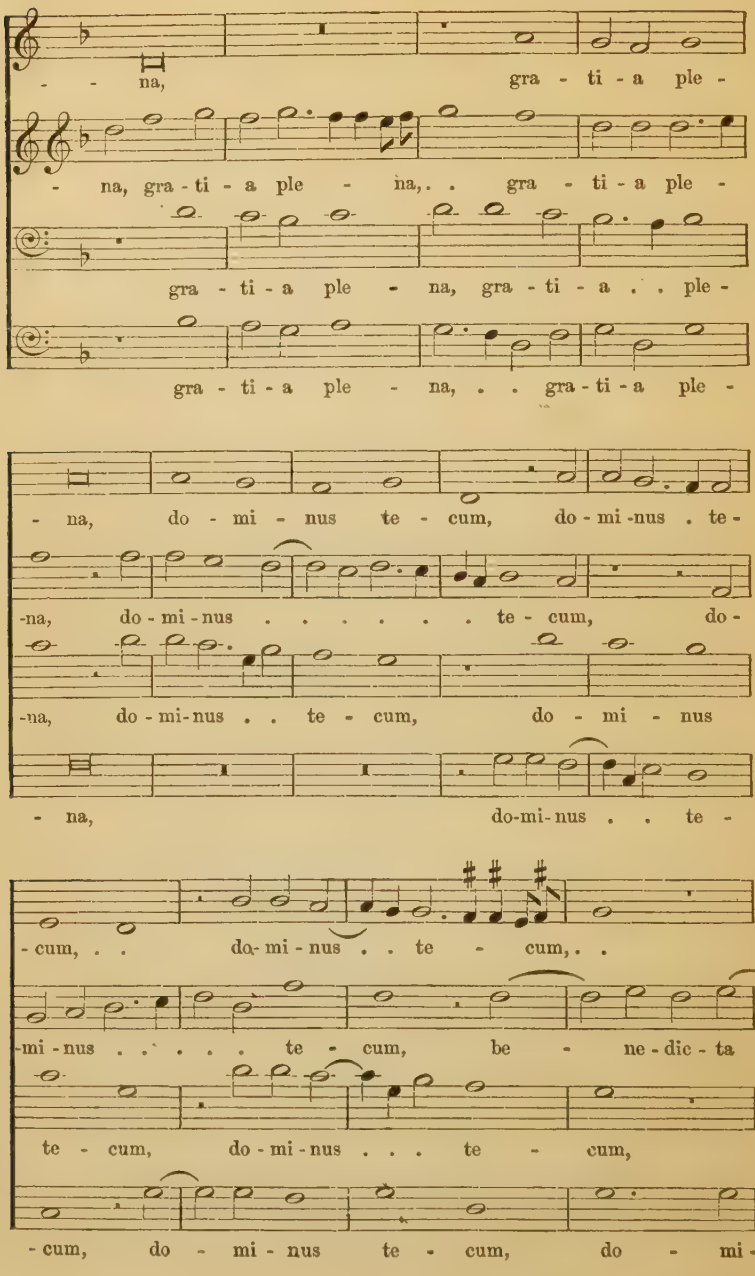
Motett.

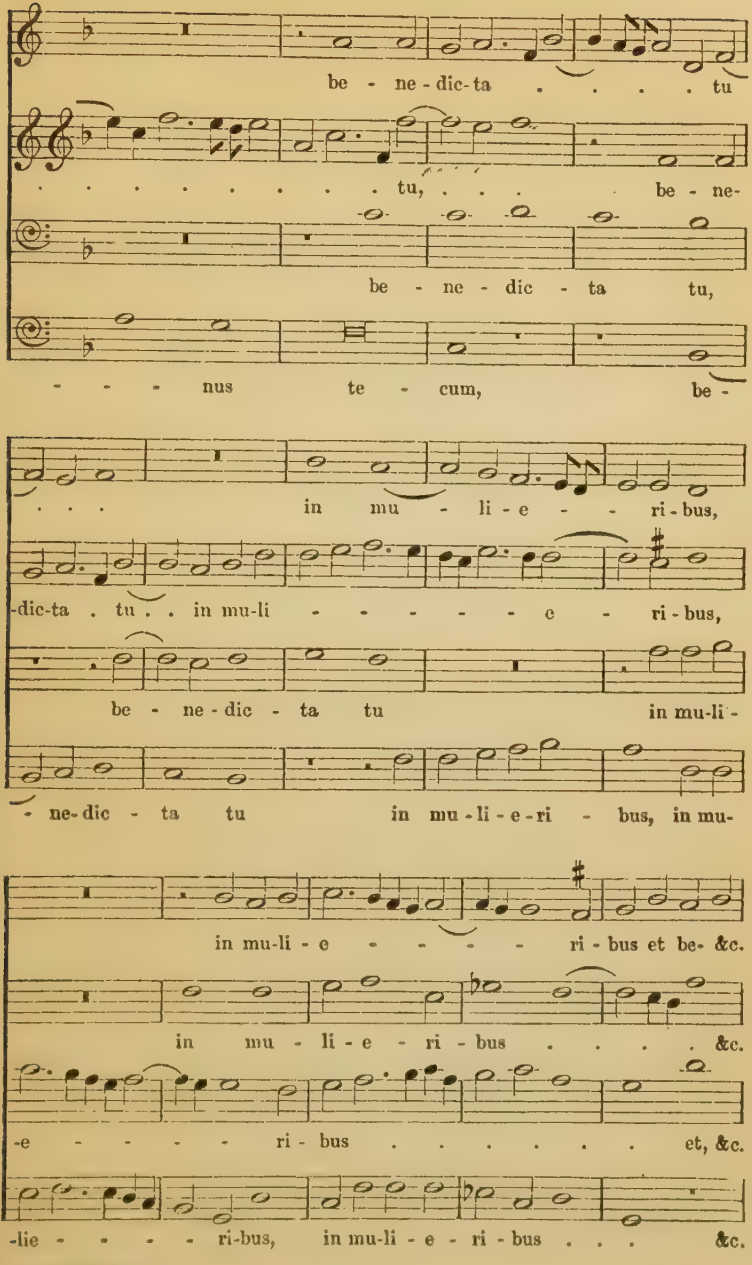
AVE MARIA.

Motetti del fiore.
Lyons, Moderne, 1532.

Adrianus Willaert.




- - na, gra - ti - a ple -
- na, gra - ti - a ple - na, . . gra - ti - a ple -
gra - ti - a ple - na, gra - ti - a . . ple -
gra - ti - a ple - na, . . gra - ti - a ple -
- na, do - mi - nus te - cum, do - mi - nus . te -
-na, do - mi - nus . . . . . te - cum, do -
-na, do - mi - nus . . te - cum, do - mi - nus
- na, do - mi - nus . . te -
- cum, . . do - mi - nus . . te - cum, . .
-mi - nus . . . . . te - cum, be - ne - dic - ta
te - cum, do - mi - nus . . . te - cum,
- cum, do - mi - nus te - cum, do - mi -


be - ne - dic - ta . . . . tu
. . . . . tu, . . . be - ne-
be - ne - dic - ta tu,
- - - nus te - cum, be -
. . . in mu - li - e - - ri - bus,
-dic-ta . tu . . in mu-li - - - - - - e - ri - bus,
be - ne - dic - ta tu in mu-li -
- ne-dic - ta tu in mu - li - e - ri - bus, in mu-
in mu-li - e - - - - ri - bus et be- &c.
in mu - li - e - ri - bus . . . . &c.
-e - - - - ri - bus . . . . . et, &c.
-lie - - - - ri-bus, in mu-li - e - ri - bus . . . &c.

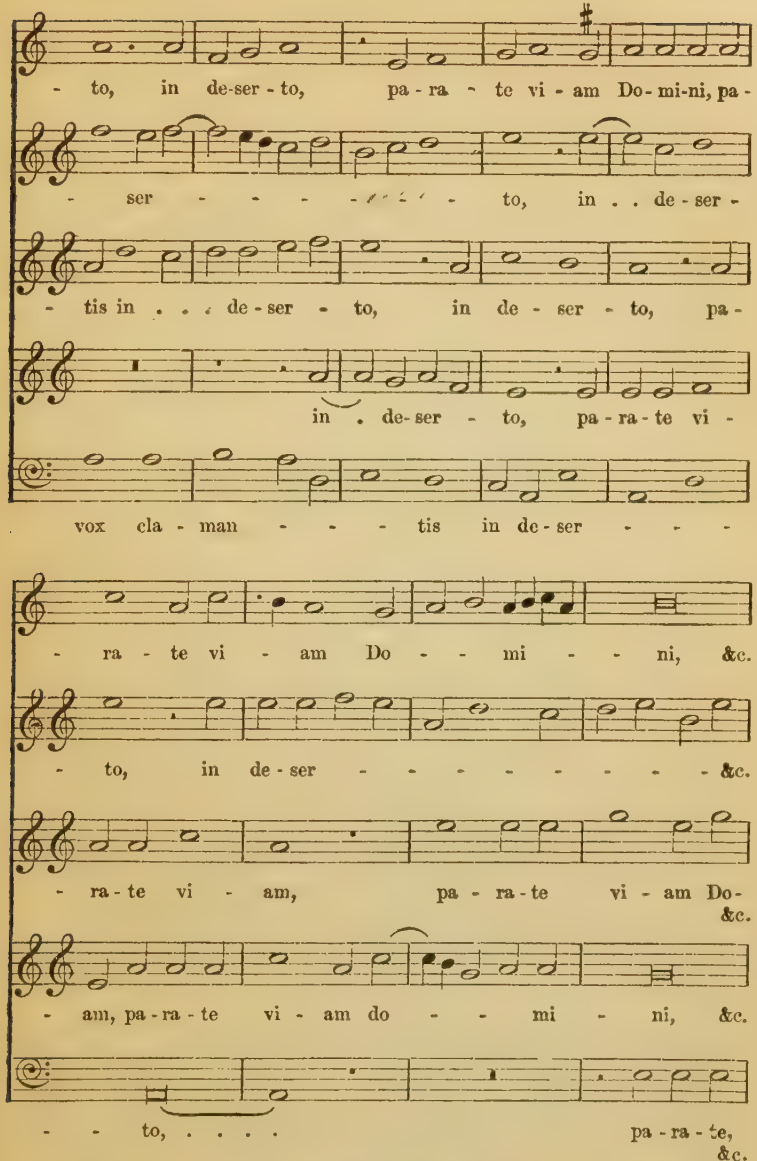
Motett.

Printed by Commer in *Collectio Operum Musicorum Batavorum*, vol. i.

VOX CLAMANTIS.

Iacobus Clemens non Papa.

Vox cla - man - tis in de - ser - - to,
Vox cla - man - tis in . de - - ser - to,
Vox cla - man .
Vox cla - man - tis in . . de- ser - - - - - -
Vox cla - man - tis in
vox cla - man-tis . . in de - ser - - -
vox cla - man - tis in de - - - - -
- tis in de - ser - to, . . . vox cla - man -
- - - - - - - - to, vox cla - man - tis
. . . de - ser - - - to,


- to, in de-ser - to, pa - ra - te vi - am Do - mi-ni, pa -
- ser - - - - - to, in . . de - ser -
- tis in . . . de - ser - to, in de - ser - to, pa -
in . de-ser - to, pa - ra - te vi -
vox cla - man - - - tis in de - ser - - -
- ra - te vi - am Do - - mi - - ni, &c.
- to, in de - ser - - - - - - - - - &c.
- ra - te vi - am, pa - ra - te vi - am Do-
&c.
- am, pa - ra - te vi - am do - - mi - ni, &c.
- - to, ... pa - ra - te,
&c.

Secular Music.

We have already seen that the composition of music to secular words was from the earliest times, and in all schools,

carried on side by side with that which was devoted to the divine service, and that both kinds were produced by the same men. Also, it will have been remarked, that while in those early periods in which music was still incapable of variety the treatment of both kinds was necessarily exactly similar, in proportion as the resources of the art became more extended an increasingly marked difference between them is discernible. This difference, however, was still comparatively small until the time of Dunstable, who in fact himself made an important, though perhaps not original, step in that direction; intending apparently to distinguish his setting of the chanson *Puis que m'amour*, for instance, as secular, by the use of canonic imitation in its composition, a device which was not employed in his sacred music. In *Cent mille écus* also, ascribed to Dufay, the points of imitation are far more numerous than in the Masses and motetts of that master, where these embellishments are still used with comparative reticence. But it is not until the recognition of the triad (about 1500) as a musical factor of importance, and the consequent discovery of modal harmony, which before had not been in the least perceived, that the true distinction between sacred and secular composition becomes obvious in music. For composers had now at last a material which they could treat in an expressive manner, and could thus fully exhibit the difference which exists between the function of secular music as a vehicle for the representation of moods of feeling, and that which belongs to the music of the divine service as the essential manifestation of a settled and constant aspiration.

The first definite and important utilization of the new means for secular purposes is seen in the works of a group of musicians, all of French or Franco-Flemish origin, and almost all pupils of Josquin, who frequented the French Court during the reigns of Francis I and Henry II. The chief of this group was Clément Janequin or Jennequin, a writer possessed of the most brilliant fancy, and of extraordinary ability in converting

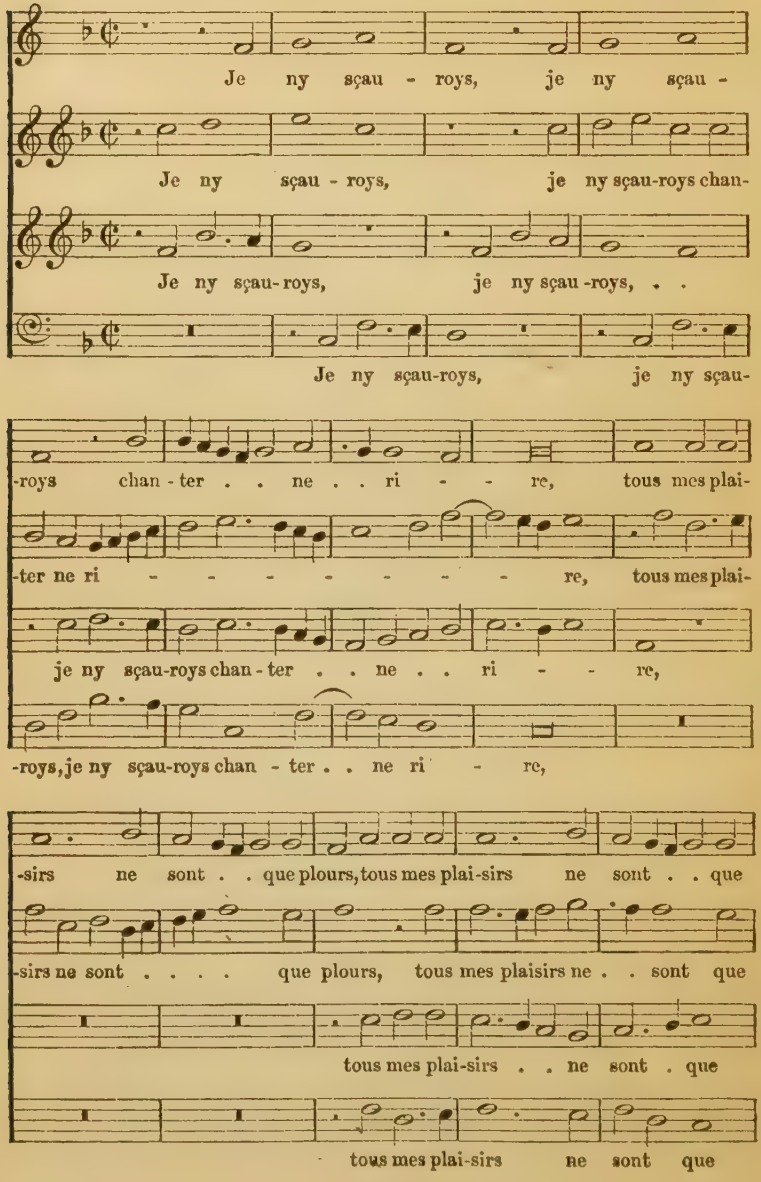
music to all sorts of unaccustomed uses; bringing vividly before the mind not only the characteristic sounds of a hunt, or the street cries of itinerant vendors, which we have already seen attempted by the old Florentine school, but representing even subjects as difficult and as widely different from each other as the shock of battle and the songs of birds. From this it will be seen that secular music was already, in some directions, at the very beginning of its free existence aiming at a point almost beyond the bounds of the art; fortunately, however, it does not appear either that the fancy of Janequin was always exercised upon such matters or that his less desirable example was at all generally followed. The charming collection of thirty-one chansons, for instance, published by Attaignant in 1529, eight years after the death of Josquin—which is perhaps the most excellent monument of the school—contains nothing extravagant, and in introducing us to a new kind of music represents this in the most favourable aspect possible.

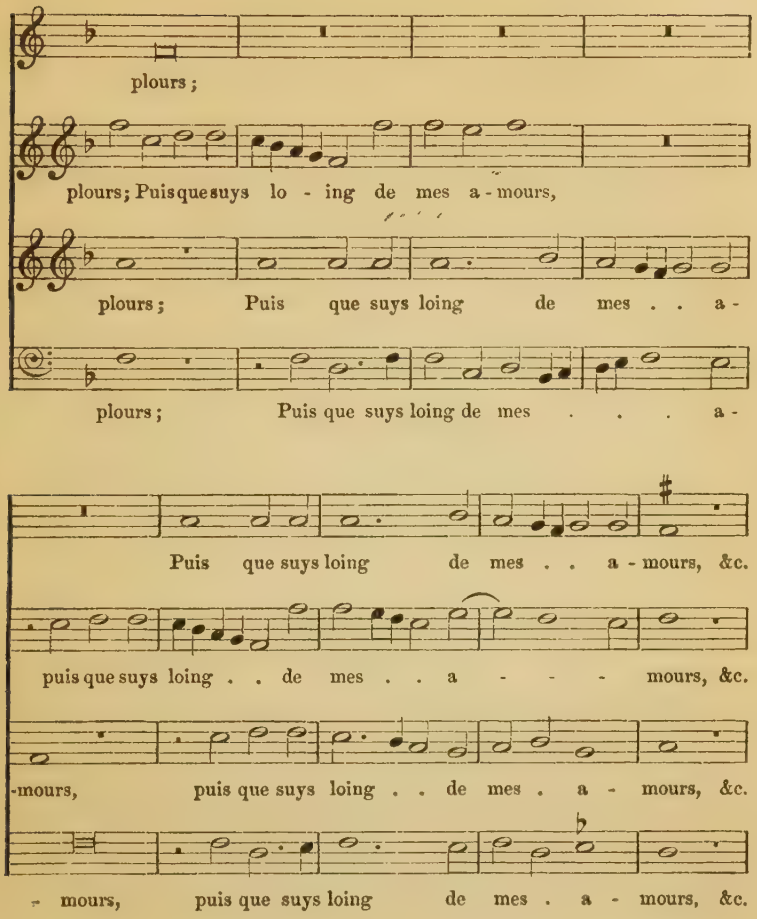
The collection contains compositions by Claudin de Sermisy, Consilium, Courtoys, Deslouges, Dulot, Gascongne, Hesdin, Jacotin, Janequin, Lombart, Sohier, and Vermont, all men of mark in their own day; most of them indeed are mentioned in the contemporary literature, and with special commendation by Ronsard and Rabelais, as also by more directly musical writers, such as Danckerts. Our example is the beginning of a chanson by Gascongne, a composition remarkable for its simplicity and beauty, so combined as to afford already a perfect model for secular treatment. The buoyant nature of the melody, the lightness of the point and its sparing use by the composer, who 'takes the best of it,' as Morley says, 'and then away to some close'—to notice only the most superficial of its characteristics—create an impression very different from that which we receive from the contemporary sacred music, with its great formal opening in deeply studied phrases, and its elaborate treatment of the various subjects, as they enter solemnly from time to time.

Chanson.

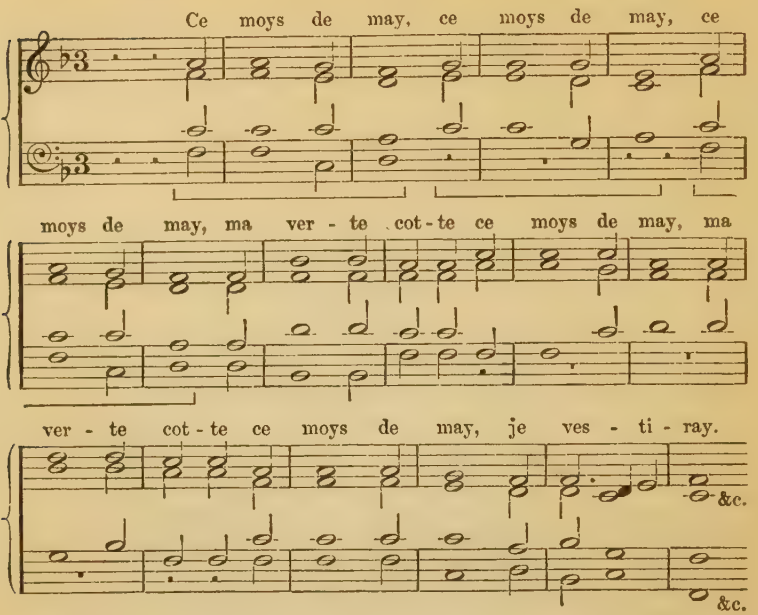
JE NY SÇAUROYS.

Paris, Pierre Attaignant, 1529. Gascongne.


Je ny sçau - roys, je ny sçau -
Je ny sçau - roys, je ny sçau-roys chan-
Je ny sçau-roys, je ny sçau-roys, . .
Je ny sçau-roys, je ny sçau-
-roys chan - ter . . ne . . ri - - re, tous mes plai-
-ter ne ri - - - - - - - - re, tous mes plai-
je ny sçau-roys chan - ter . . ne . . ri - - re,
-roys, je ny sçau-roys chan - ter . . ne ri - re,
-sirs ne sont . . que plours, tous mes plai-sirs ne sont . . que
-sirs ne sont . . . . que plours, tous mes plaisirs ne . . sont que
tous mes plai-sirs . . ne sont . que
tous mes plai-sirs ne sont que

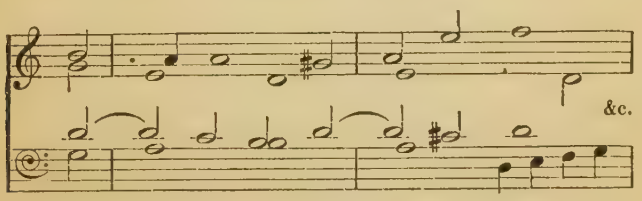

plours;
plours; Puisquesuys lo - ing de mes a - mours,
plours; Puis que suys loing de mes . . a -
plours; Puis que suys loing de mes . . . a -
Puis que suys loing de mes . . a - mours, &c.
puis que suys loing . . de mes . . a - - - mours, &c.
-mours, puis que suys loing . . de mes . a - mours, &c.
- mours, puis que suys loing de mes . a - mours, &c.

As in the sacred music, so also in the secular kind, the alternative, with respect to the opening form, lies between a point and plain chords. In the latter, in this collection, we are struck by the remarkable correctness of the modal progressions, and in Janequin's *Ce moys de May*, for instance, this appears very strongly. Our space unfortunately will not admit of the exhibition of this charming song, but room may be found for a few of the opening bars, in short score:—



Twenty-three years later we find Janequin again contributing to an interesting collection of secular pieces, composed as settings of *Les Amours de P. de Ronsard*; and here he is associated with ecclesiastical composers of the highest rank, such as Certon, director of the Sainte Chapelle, and with the great Goudimel himself. Compared with the work of these composers, disciples in the school of Gombert, that of Janequin, though excellent, has now a somewhat old-fashioned air, and does not seem to demand the exhibition of a specimen; the secular work, however, of such masters as Certon and Goudimel cannot be passed over, and we therefore give a short extract from each. Certon, it will be observed, confines himself to the use of plain chords, in which nevertheless the polyphonic element is perfectly represented in the melodious flow and independent interest of the separate parts; Goudimel, on the other hand, relieves the continuous march of the minims by breaking at suitable intervals, and even (in the portion not given here) resorts occasionally to entirely florid counterpoint.

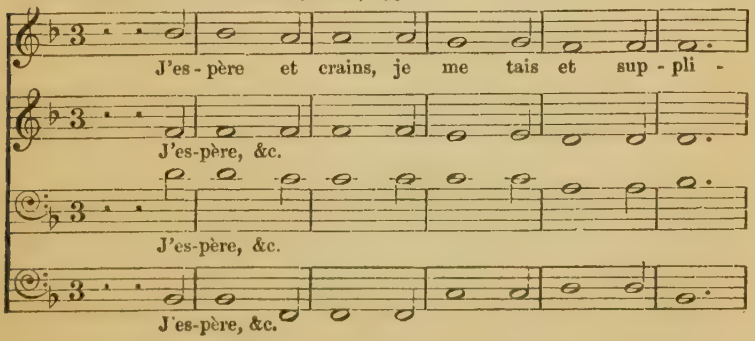
An example is also given of secular writing by Crequillon, another disciple of Gombert, who was for some time, about 1544, Maestro di Cappella to Charles V, at Madrid. This example is throughout in florid counterpoint, except a short opening of four bars in simple harmony; the opening is followed by light points of imitation, pleasingly varied, which succeed each other through the rest of the work. The closes are of course rather slight in texture, as becomes the character of the composition; in one, however, at the place marked in our copy, the composer has attempted something elaborate. Unfortunately its effect is based chiefly upon the use of the true discord of the second (not the mere inversion of another discord which in modern theory passes for the second), and as the effect of this is naturally most unpleasing it was seldom used by later writers, who would have preferred to arrange the inner parts in the example before us in some such way as this:—

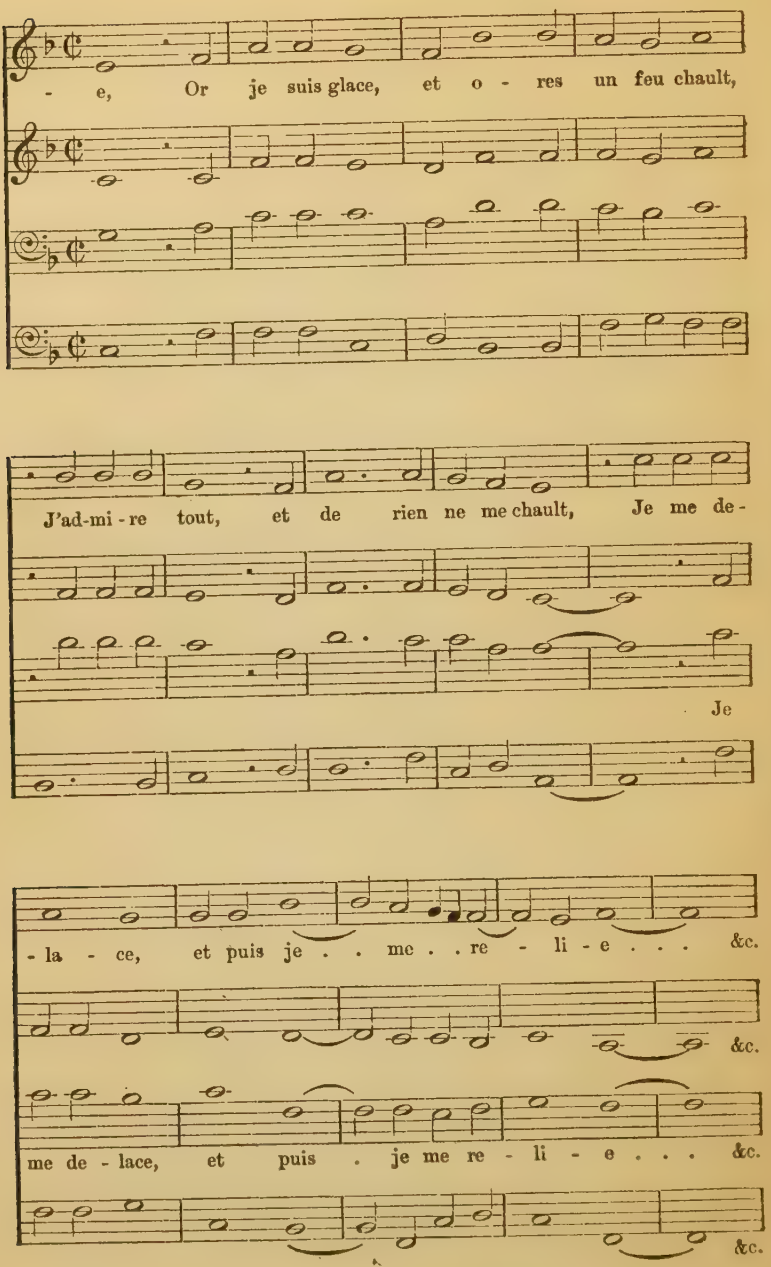


SONNET.

J'ESPÈRE ET CRAINS.

Les Amours de P. de Ronsard, Paris, 1552. P. Certon.

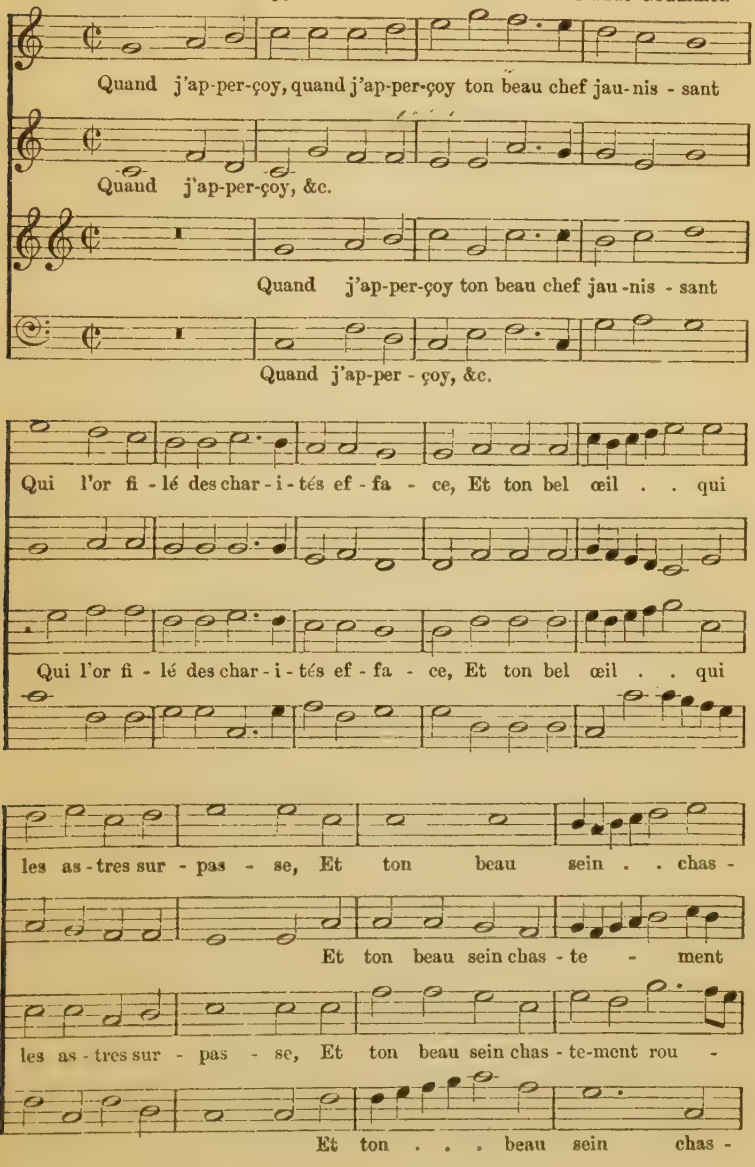


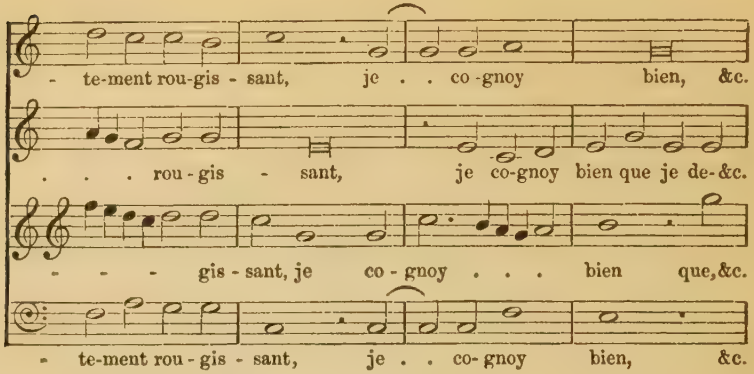

- e, Or je suis glace, et o - res un feu chault,
J'ad-mi - re tout, et de rien ne me chault, Je me de-
Je
- la - ce, et puis je . . me . . re - li - e . . . &c.
&c.
me de - lace, et puis . je me re - li - e . . . &c.
&c.

Sonnet.

QUAND J'APPERÇOY.

Les Amours de Ronsard, 1552. Claude Goudimel.

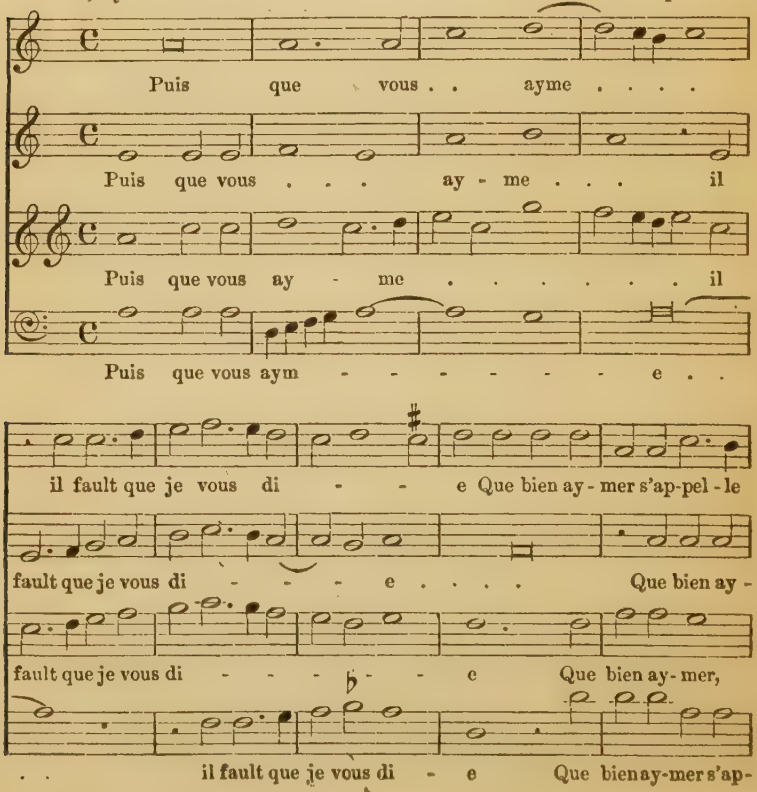

Quand j'ap-per-çoy, quand j'ap-per-çoy ton beau chef jau-nis - sant
Quand j'ap-per-çoy, &c.
Quand j'ap-per-çoy ton beau chef jau-nis - sant
Quand j'ap-per - çoy, &c.
Qui l'or fi - lé des char - i - tés ef - fa - ce, Et ton bel œil . . qui
Qui l'or fi - lé des char - i - tés ef - fa - ce, Et ton bel œil . . qui
les as - tres sur - pas - se, Et ton beau sein . . chas -
Et ton beau sein chas - te - ment
les as - tres sur - pas - se, Et ton beau sein chas - te-ment rou -
Et ton . . . beau sein chas -

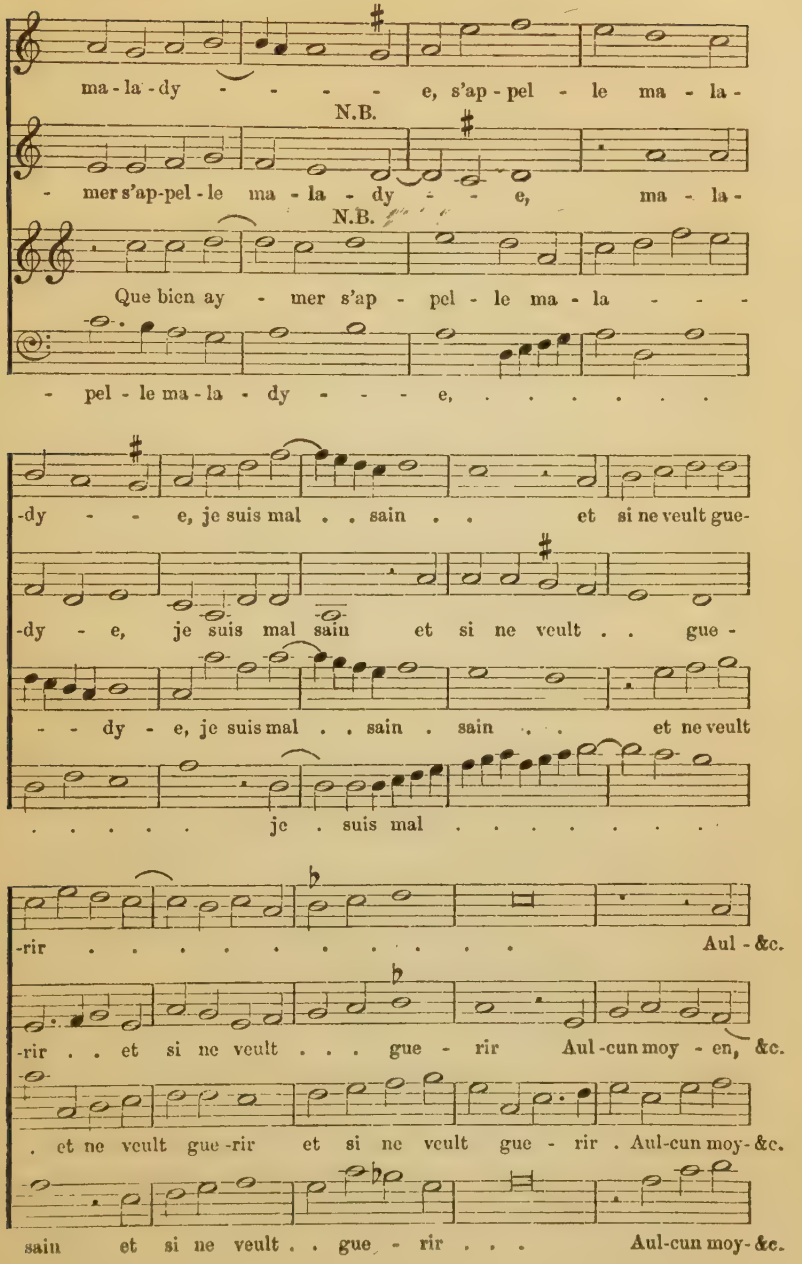

- te-ment rou-gis - sant, je . . co -gnoy bien, &c.
. . . rou - gis - sant, je co-gnoy bien que je de-&c.
- - - gis - sant, je co - gnoy . . . bien que,&c.
- te-ment rou - gis - sant, je . . co- gnoy bien, &c.

Chanson.

PUIS QUE VOUS AYME.

Anvers, Tylman Susato. Thomas Crequillon.


Puis que vous . . ayme . . . .
Puis que vous . . . ay - me . . . il
Puis que vous ay - me il
Puis que vous aym - - - - - - - e . .
il fault que je vous di - - - e Que bien ay - mer s'ap-pel - le
fault que je vous di - - - - e . . . . Que bien ay -
fault que je vous di - - - - e Que bien ay- mer,
. . il fault que je vous di - e Que bienay-mer s'ap-


ma - la - dy - - - - e, s'ap - pel - le ma - la -
N.B.
- mer s'ap-pel - le ma - la - dy - - - e, ma - la -
N.B.
Que bien ay - mer s'ap - pel - le ma - la - - -
- pel - le ma - la - dy - - - - e, ...
-dy - - e, je suis mal . . sain . . et si ne veult gue-
-dy - e, je suis mal sain et si ne veult . . gue -
- - dy - e, je suis mal . . sain . sain . . . et ne veult
. . . . . je . suis mal . . . . . .
-rir . . . . . Aul - &c.
-rir . . et si ne veult . . . gue - rir Aul - cun moy - en, &c.
. et ne veult gue - rir et si ne veult gue - rir . Aul - cun moy - &c.
sain et si ne veult . . gue - rir . . . Aul - cun moy - &c.

Not only at the Court of France and in the French chansons did pupils of Josquin find material for a development of the new music. A considerable number made their way also into Italy, where they received employment in every Ducal chapel, in the Sistine, and in St. Mark's at Venice. The secular music which they found in use was written to various forms of light and unsubstantial verse—*Frottole*, *Villanesche*, and such like, descendants probably of the *Ballate* and *Canzonette* of the fourteenth century, of which we have already seen specimens. Some of the Flemings—Layolle, for instance, Willaert, and Verdelot—attempted competition with the Italians in the production of these lighter forms; but soon the school as a whole, in composing for the chamber, turned to the old serious form of secular verse, the Madrigal, which though no longer set to music had survived, as it would seem, as poetry, and had retained also much of its original structure and characteristic expression; and with this as their subject they gradually raised, from very simple beginnings, the noble fabric in which the ideal of secular music was eventually to be perfected.

The early madrigals were chiefly the work of Willaert and the Flemish pupils who resorted to him from time to time during the first ten years after his appointment to St. Mark's in Venice—Verdelot, for instance, Archadelt, and Waelrant. Their compositions of this kind are for the most part studiously simple both in form and style of melody, the music following the metrical structure closely, yet enriching it—as appears in our example from Archadelt—with graceful points of imitation and the simpler forms of ornamental cadence.

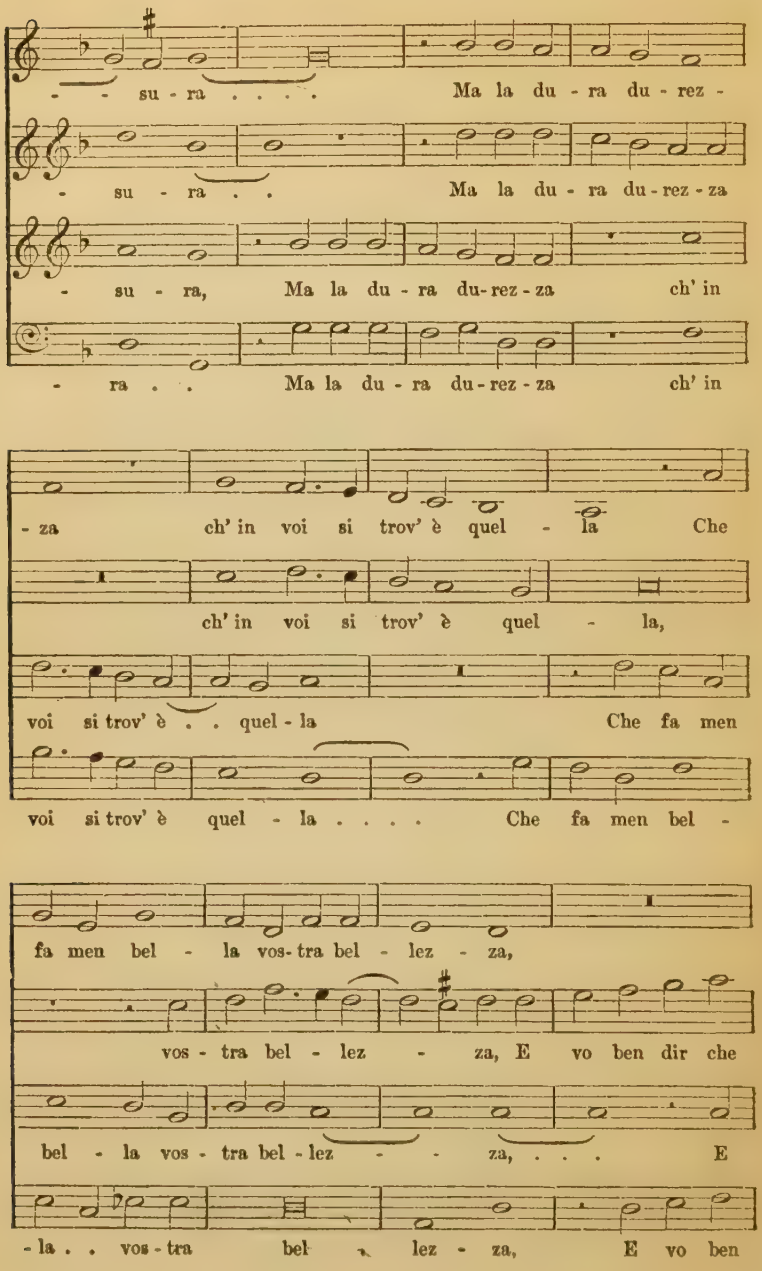
Madrigal.

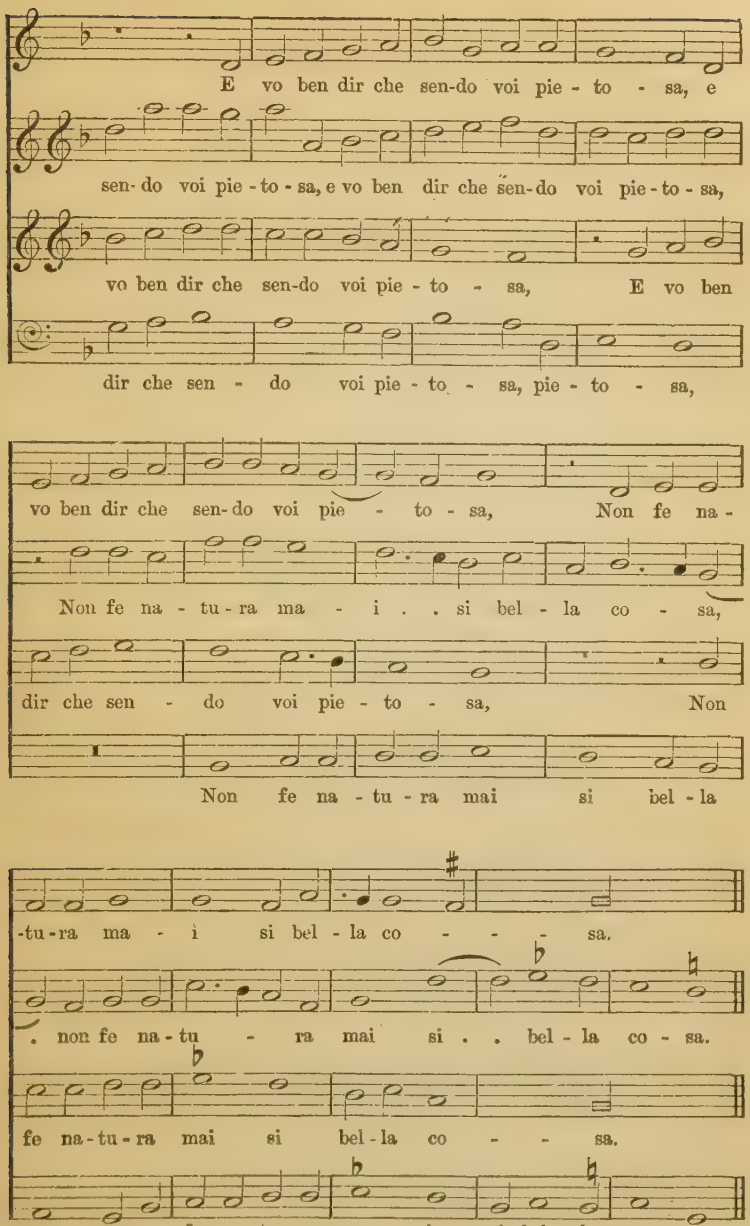
'se la durezza.'

Il terzo libro dei madrigali novissimi di Archadelt, &c.

Archadelt.

Se la du-rezz' in voi fos-se men du - ra,
Se la du-rezz' in voi fos-se men . . . du -
Se la du-rezz' in voi fos-se men , du-ra, Se
Se la du-rezz' in voi fos-se men du - ra,
Se bel-la se - te com' ogn' . al-tra bel - la, Bel-la bel -
-ra, Se bel-la se - te com' ogn' al-tra bel -
bel-la se - te com' ogn' al - - tra . . . bel - la, . .
Se bel-la se - te com' ogn' al - tra bel - la,
N.B.
-lezz' havresti ol-tra mi - su-ra, bel-la bellezz' havres-ti ol - tra mi -
-la, Bel-la bellezz' hav-res-ti ol - tra mi - su-ra, . mi -
. . Bel-la bel-lezz' . hav-res-ti ol-tra mi-su-ra, mi -
Bel-la bel-lezz' havresti ol-tra mi-su - ra, havresti ol-tra mi-su -


- - su - ra . . . . Ma la du - ra du - rez -
- su - ra . . Ma la du - ra du - rez - za
- su - ra, Ma la du - ra du - rez - za ch' in
- ra . . Ma la du - ra du - rez - za ch' in
- za ch' in voi si trov' è quel - la Che
ch' in voi si trov' è quel - la,
voi si trov' è . . quel - la Che fa men
voi si trov' è quel - la . . . . Che fa men bel -
fa men bel - la vos - tra bel - lez - za,
vos - tra bel - lez - za, E vo ben dir che
bel - la vos - tra bel - lez - - za, . . . E
- la . . vos - tra bel - lez - za, E vo ben

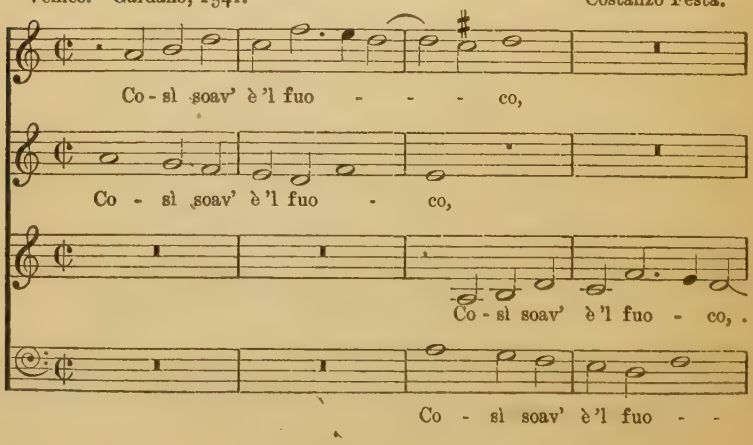

E vo ben dir che sen-do voi pie - to - sa, e
sen- do voi pie - to - sa, e vo ben dir che sen-do voi pie - to - sa,
vo ben dir che sen-do voi pie - to - sa, E vo ben
dir che sen - do voi pie - to - sa, pie - to - sa,
vo ben dir che sen-do voi pie - to - sa, Non fe na -
Non fe na - tu - ra ma - i . . si bel - la co - sa,
dir che sen - do voi pie - to - sa, Non
Non fe na - tu - ra mai si bel - la
-tu-ra ma - i si bel - la co - - - - sa.
. non fe na - tu - ra mai si . . bel - la co - sa.
fe na - tu - ra mai si bel - la co - - - sa.
co - sa, non fe na - tu - ra ma - i si bel - la co - sa.

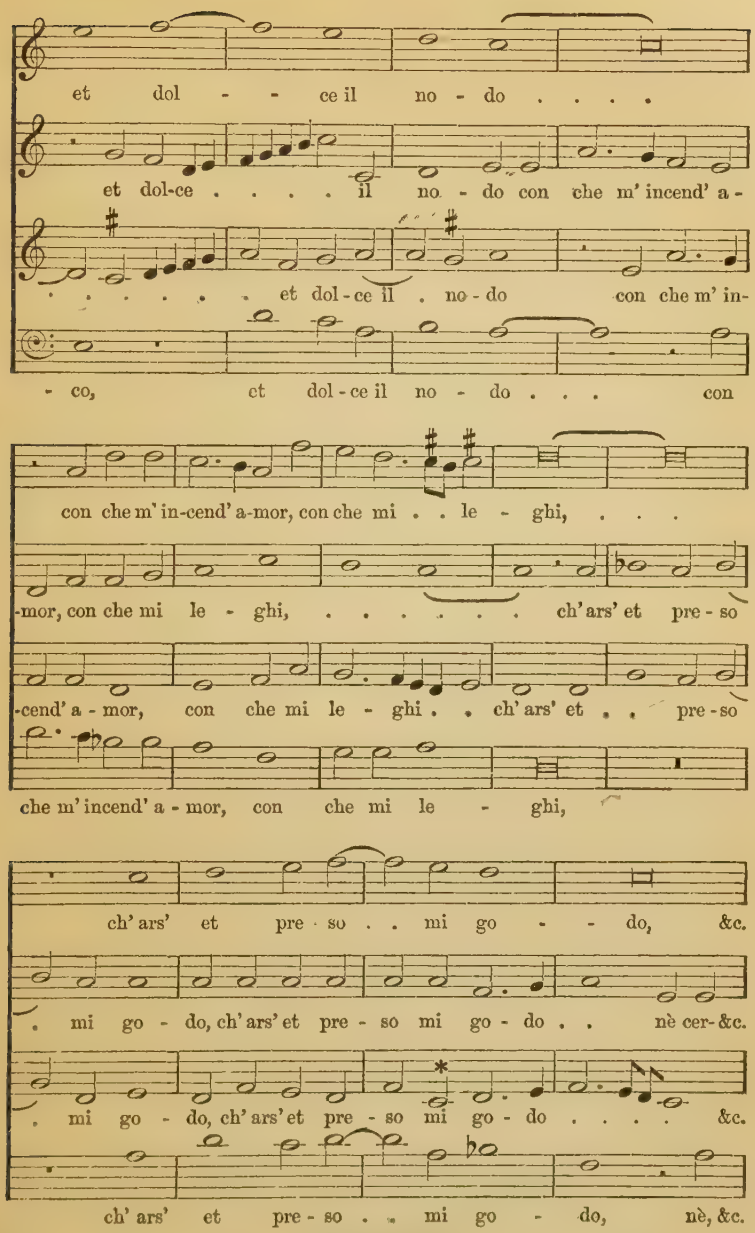
Already, while the early Flemish madrigalists were thus pursuing their somewhat cautious way, and keeping as a rule within, or at the most not far from, the outlines of their original models, the *Frottole* and *Villanesche*, an Italian, a singer in the Papal choir, Costanzo Festa, had already revealed a path of his own making for the new musical species, a path leading more directly than that adopted by the Flemings to the broadly ornate form in which the madrigal eventually arrived at perfection. In the fine *Così soave*, given as our example of Festa's work, the characteristics of the Roman method are very evident. Though not approaching the gravity of the motett in general style, the composition is certainly more indebted to that form than to the models adopted by the Flemings for its methods, being in figured counterpoint throughout with frequent points of imitation. It is true that the opening is somewhat slight in character, but the interest increases as we proceed, both points and closes becoming more and more important, yet without solemnity or greater seriousness even than befits the purely artificial sentiment of the epigrammatic verse.

MADRIGAL.

'COSÌ SOAVE.'

Venice. Gardano, 1541. Costanzo Festa.




et dol - - ce il no - do . . . .
et dol-ce . . . . il no - do con che m' incend' a -
. . . . . et dol - ce il . no - do con che m' in-
- co, et dol - ce il no - do . . . con
con che m' in-cend' a-mor, con che mi . . le - ghi, . . .
-mor, con che mi le - ghi, ... ch' ars' et pre - so
-cend' a - mor, con che mi le - ghi . . ch' ars' et . . pre - so
che m' incend' a - mor, con che mi le - ghi,
ch' ars' et pre - so . . mi go - - do, &c.
. mi go - do, ch' ars' et pre - so mi go - do . . nè cer-&c.
. mi go - do, ch' ars' et pre - so mi go - do . . . . &c.
ch' ars' et pre - so . . mi go - do, nè, &c.

* G in original.

The success of the madrigal, which was soon generally cultivated in North and Middle Italy, greatly stimulated the composition of the lesser and lighter kinds of secular music. In substance these remained still much the same as the Frottole and other forms proper to the ante-madrigalian period; but they were now enlarged in form and improved as regards musical merit. Such were the *canzoni* and *balletti* with which we are familiar in the works of later writers—Gastoldi and Ferretti, for instance. Though Morley speaks slightingly of them, they are extremely neat and workmanlike in construction, and often contain much beauty.

The condition of the Venetian madrigal in the middle of the century may be seen in two examples by Cipriano da Rore and Costanzo Porta, both pupils of Willaert. From these it will be observed that the old form of composition in plain counterpoint, which was still, it may be said, continued elsewhere by Giaches de Wert and others, has here given place to a mixed method, inclining upon the whole to the figured style adopted, from the beginning, by Costanzo Festa. In the *Chi non sa* by Cipriano there is still much simple writing, though this is intermixed with points and passages of florid counterpoint. This method, employed in so short a work, is inferior in dignity to that of the Roman, since variety is obtained in it by the use of various means, rather than by varying, as in the work of Festa, the character of one; yet in its effect it is often expressive, and its changes are not altogether unwelcome.

It is of course well known that, apart from the class of composition to which our example belongs, Cipriano wrote 'Chromatic madrigals'; it has not, however, been thought necessary either to describe these or to give examples of them, since they were purely experimental, and moreover quite unsuccessful.

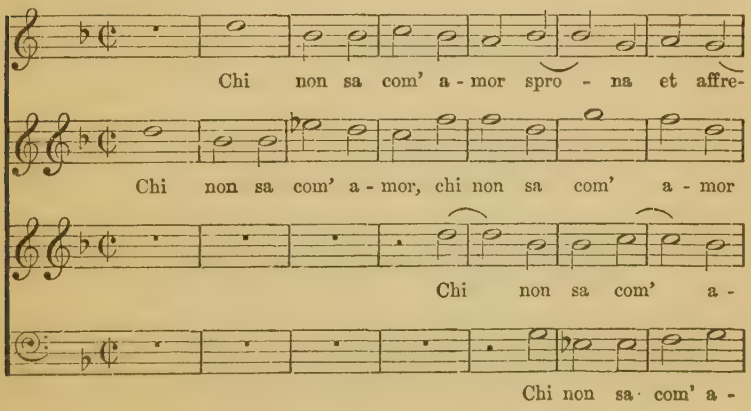
The method adopted by Porta in our example is that which consists in the division of the text into the smallest portions consistent with the preservation of the sense—too short as

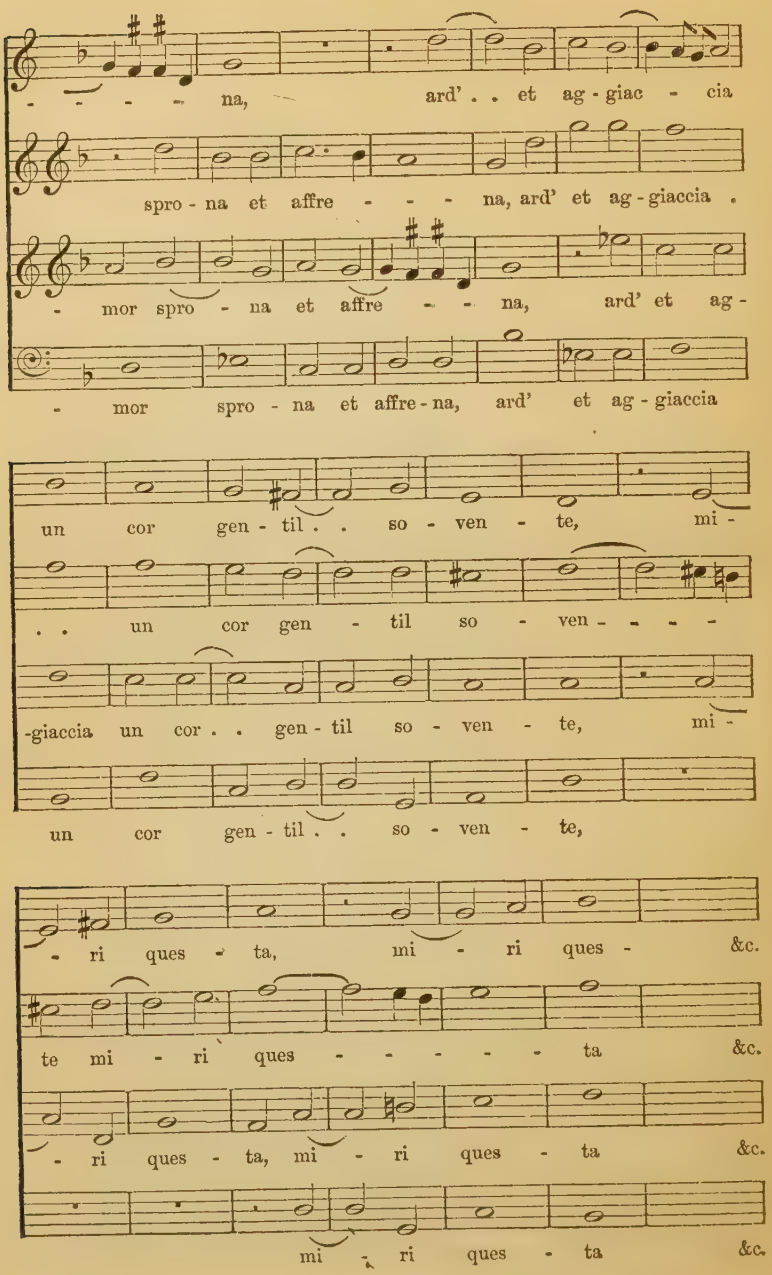
a rule to admit of a point—and the embellishment of these by means of clear and expressive contrapuntal writing, leading in each case to some pleasing and often unexpected cadence. This method was much in favour during the latter half of the century, since it afforded excellent opportunities for the display of those refinements which characterized the practice of this period, and avoided the necessity for sustained effort. Nor is this the only sign of an approaching decadence, for it will be observed in our fragment of Porta's *Amorose viole*, at the place marked, that the treatment of the chromatic note has already deteriorated, and that it is now approached and quitted by leap, as if it formed an actual part of the scale in which it occurs. And this tendency, although still absent from sacred music, continued to increase in the madrigal, which thus became one of the principal agents in the disintegration of the Modal system. Indeed, Orazio Vecchi's *Pastorella gratiosella* (published in 1589), of which we give a few bars in concluding this account, would seem to be written frankly in the key of G minor.

MADRIGAL.

'CHI NON SA.'

Venice. Gardano, 1571. Cipriano da Rore.

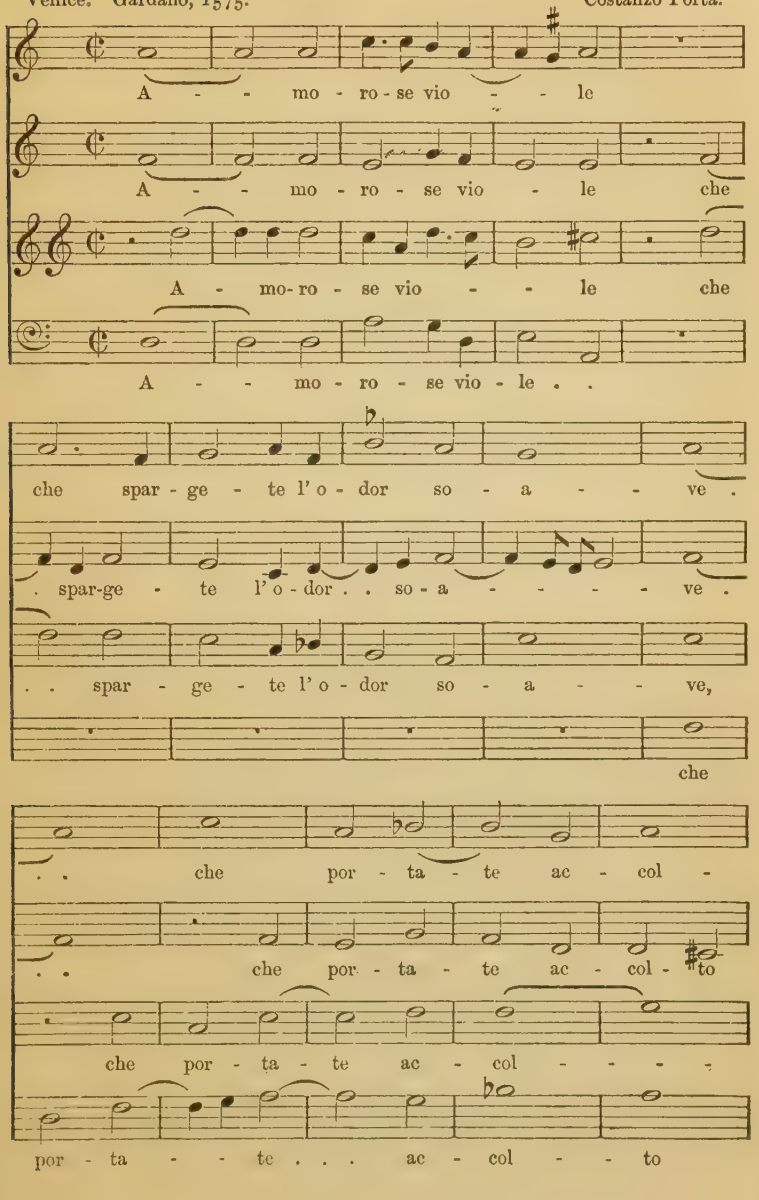


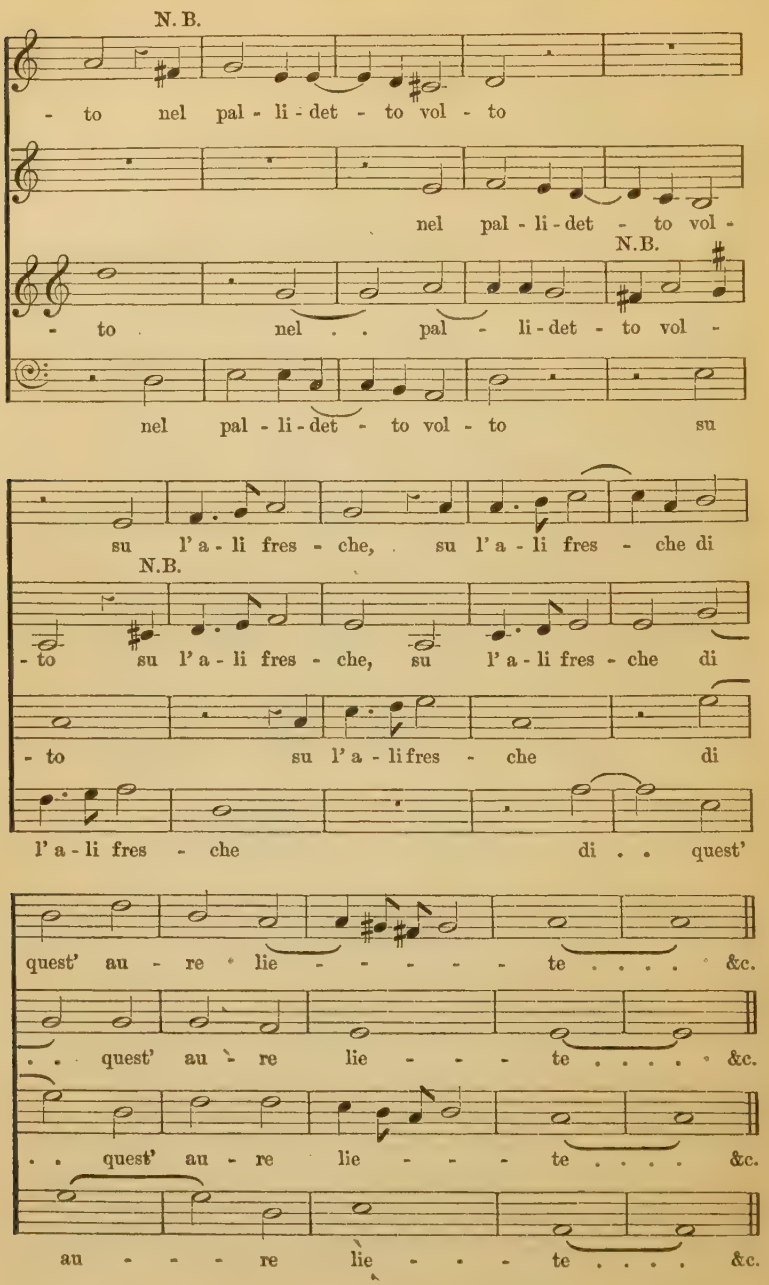

- - - - na, ard' . . et ag - giac - cia
spro - na et affre - - - na, ard' et ag - giaccia .
- mor spro - na et affre - - na, ard' et ag -
- mor spro - na et affre - na, ard' et ag - giaccia
un cor gen - til . . so - ven - te, mi -
. . un cor gen - til so - ven - - - -
-giaccia un cor . . gen - til so - ven - te, mi -
un cor gen - til . . so - ven - te,
- ri ques - ta, mi - ri ques - &c.
te mi - ri ques - - - - - - ta &c.
- ri ques - ta, mi - ri ques - ta &c.
mi - ri ques - ta &c.

Madrigal.

'Amorose viole.'

Venice. Gardano, 1575. Costanzo Porta.

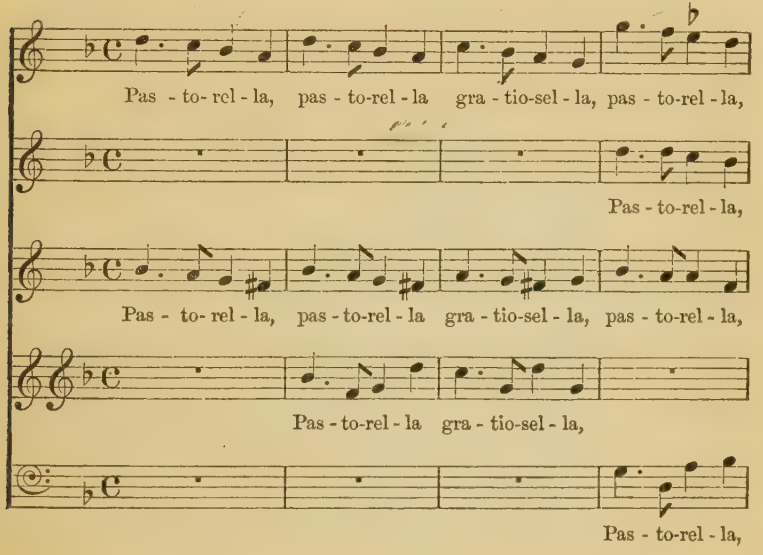

A - - mo - ro - se vio - - le
A - - mo - ro - se vio - le che
A - mo - ro - se vio - - le che
A - - mo - ro - se vio - le . .
che spar - ge - te l' o - dor so - a - - ve .
. spar-ge - te l' o - dor . . so - a - - - - ve .
. . spar - ge - te l' o - dor so - a - - ve,
che
. . che por - ta - te ac - col -
. . che por - ta - te ac - col - to
che por - ta - te ac - col - - - -
por - ta - - te . . . ac - col - - to

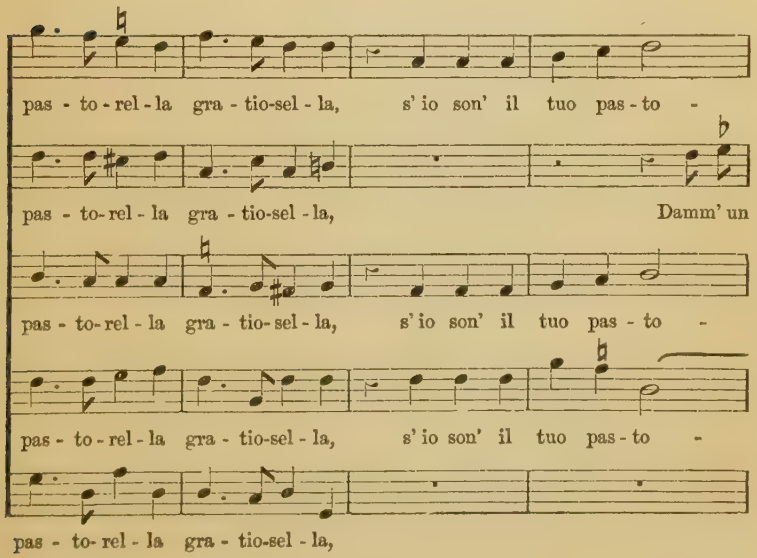

N.B.
- to nel pal - li - det - to vol - to
nel pal - li - det - to vol -
N.B.
- to nel . . pal - li - det - to vol -
nel pal - li - det - to vol - to su
su l' a - li fres - che, su l' a - li fres - che di
N.B.
- to su l' a - li fres - che, su l' a - li fres - che di
- to su l' a - li fres - che di
l' a - li fres - che di . . quest'
quest' au - re lie - - - - - te . . . . &c.
. . quest' au - re lie - - - - te . . . . . &c.
. . quest' au - re lie - - - - te . . . . &c.
au - - - - re lie - - - - te . . . . &c.

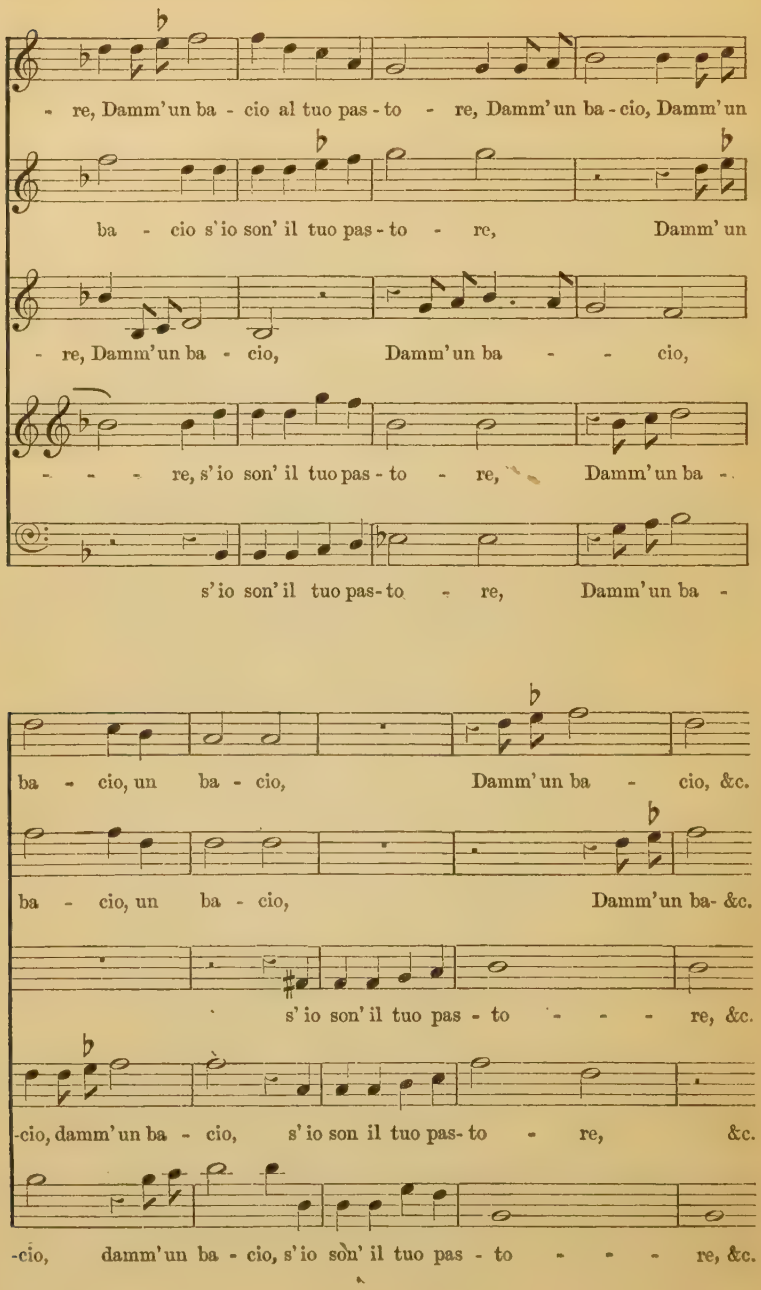
Madrigal.

'PASTORELLA GRATIOSELLA.'

Venice. Gardano, 1589. Orazio Vecchi.


Pas - to- rel - la, pas - to-rel - la gra - tio-sel - la, pas - to-rel - la,
Pas - to-rel - la,
Pas - to- rel - la, pas - to-rel - la gra - tio-sel - la, pas - to-rel - la,
Pas - to-rel - la gra - tio-sel - la,
Pas - to-rel - la,


pas - to - rel - la gra - tio-sel - la, s' io son' il tuo pas - to -
pas - to- rel - la gra - tio-sel - la, Damm' un
pas - to- rel - la gra - tio- sel - la, s' io son' il tuo pas - to -
pas - to - rel - la gra - tio-sel - la, s' io son' il tuo pas - to -
pas - to- rel - la gra - tio-sel - la,


- re, Damm'un ba - cio al tuo pas - to - re, Damm'un ba - cio, Damm'un
ba - cio s'io son' il tuo pas - to - re, Damm' un
- re, Damm'un ba - cio, Damm'un ba - - cio,
- - - re, s'io son' il tuo pas - to - re, Damm'un ba -
s'io son' il tuo pas - to - re, Damm'un ba -
ba - cio, un ba - cio, Damm'un ba - cio, &c.
ba - cio, un ba - cio, Damm'un ba- &c.
s'io son' il tuo pas - to - - - re, &c.
-cio, damm'un ba - cio, s'io son il tuo pas - to - re, &c.
-cio, damm'un ba - cio, s'io son' il tuo pas - to - - - re, &c.

The Offshoots of the Flemish Stock.

While the constant presence of Flemish composers for many years in Venice, and the influence of their teaching and example, were beneficial to the musical life of the city in many ways, in one respect especially these influences had created an advantageous situation of the highest value—in the transformation, that is to say, of the casual association of native practitioners into a true local school, whose work, not only in the secular kind but also in the music of the divine service, was brought to exhibit a special character. Its solidarity, moreover, was not affected by the death of its Netherland founder, but continued intact through many years of a long and interesting career. Even during the short period subsequent to the death of Willaert which is covered by the limits of the present work, the school numbered among its native leaders Zarlino, Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli, and Giovanni Croce; and at a comparatively early date in its history it had enriched the art with a new form—the double choir, alternately antiphonal and united, which, immediately upon its invention, made its way throughout musical Europe.

Mention of the Venetian offshoot of the Netherland school suggests to our minds the case of France. From the frequent references to the French pupils of the Flemings which necessarily occur in any historical account of music, it might naturally be supposed that these composers should also be considered as forming a school, properly so called. But, in fact, by most historians, apparently, this distinction is denied to them; and not without reason, for though their individual works were often of great beauty and merit, they neither formed a coherent association based upon original aims, nor worked out systematically among themselves ideas derived from the Flemings, but were for ever recurring to their preceptors, with whose growth and development they associated their own. They were, however, unable to follow the Flemings in those later and higher

flights which brought the art of composition to the threshold of perfection, and their methods had become out of date, and their music relatively weak, even before the appearance of Lassus or the rise of the Roman school.

With respect to Germany and Holland, it may be said that their schools had not, before the year 1600, which is our limit, declared themselves; but in Poland, and more particularly in Cracow, we find that long before that period a school already deserving the name undoubtedly existed [1]. Its beginnings are thought to have originated with Heinrich Finck, probably a German pupil of Dufay and Isaak, who was director of the Royal Chapel from about 1492, under John Albert, to about 1506, under Sigismond, for it is not certain that anything of importance was composed in Cracow before the earlier of those dates. Indeed none of the existing music of this school is earlier than the sixteenth century; it begins with a book of hymns, composed at the request of Sigismond I, and printed in Cracow in 1522, by Sebastian Felzstyn, whose more elaborate compositions, contained partly in a Gradual of the Virgin, are to be found in MS. in the library of the Cathedral. Felzstyn was apparently also a theorist and an excellent teacher, numbering some of the best native writers of the succeeding generation among his pupils.

Cracow was far from the principal centres of musical interest and influence, and but for a fortunate circumstance the school might have dwindled from its birth, languishing in a half-starved mediocrity. This circumstance, which communicated the needful stimulus—the desire to excel in closely united effort—was the establishment, in 1543, of a select choir, called the College of Roratists, consisting of a rector, nine chaplain-singers, and a clerk, founded by Sigismond chiefly for the performance of Masses for defunct members of the Royal house. Here at once

[1] The best thanks of the present writer are due to Count George Mycielski, Professor of Fine Art in the University of Cracow, for much kind and valuable information with respect to this school and its productions.

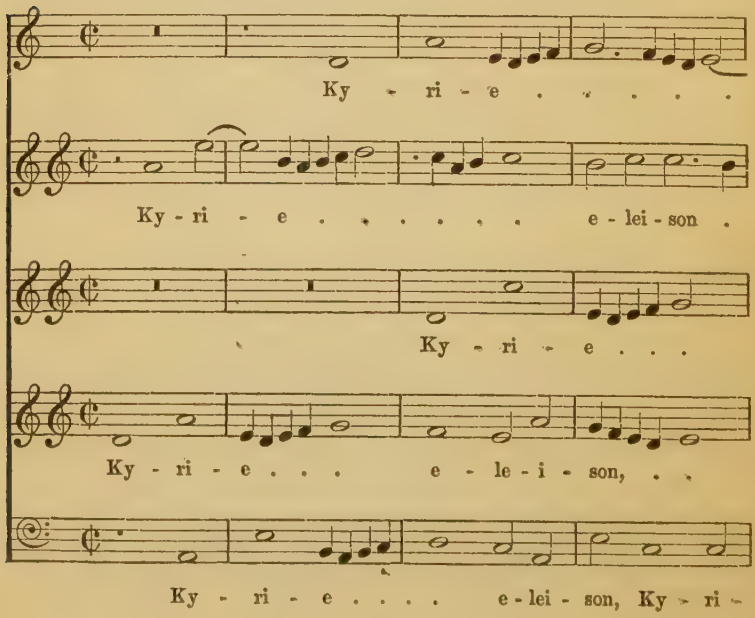
therefore were created conditions favourable to the growth of an elevated style of composition; and accordingly, as it would appear, this choir soon became the centre of musical life in Poland, and all the principal native writers of sacred music were to be found among its members. Its first director was one Nicholas of Posen, of whom little is known; his successor however, Christopher Borek, was a distinguished musician, whose ability is revealed in a Mass of some importance which is still in existence. But the really remarkable members of the college, the men upon whom its reputation may be said to depend, were Martinus Leopolita, organist of the chapel, Venceslas Szamotulski, director, and Thomas Szadek, chaplain-singer. The first of these was considered to be the most important, and was certainly the most prolific, of the three. His principal works are the Masses *Rorate*, *De Resurrectione*, and *Paschalis*; and of these the last is probably the best, and indeed may be considered as the representative work of the school. Szamotulski printed much; a number of motetts by him were brought out in Cracow in 1556, and two of these—*Dies est laetitiae*, and *Christe qui lux es*—have been reprinted in Poland in modern times. Two others—*In te Domine speravi*, and *Ego sum Pastor Bonus*—appeared in the lifetime of the composer in collections by Montanus, published in 1553 and 1583. We give examples of all three composers, and from these it will be seen that the style of their music is late Flemish—later, that is to say, than that of Gombert; indeed, not only from the entire absence of long pauses, except in the fugal opening, but also from the general tendency to preserve the pulse-beat or minim as the standard of movement, we might suppose the music to represent an attempt to compose in the methods of Clemens non Papa, or of Christian Holländer. It has not, however, always either the clear harmonic flow or the melodious voice parts of those masters, yet it is still estimable, and if not perfectly excellent, is nevertheless entitled to a place among the good work of its time.

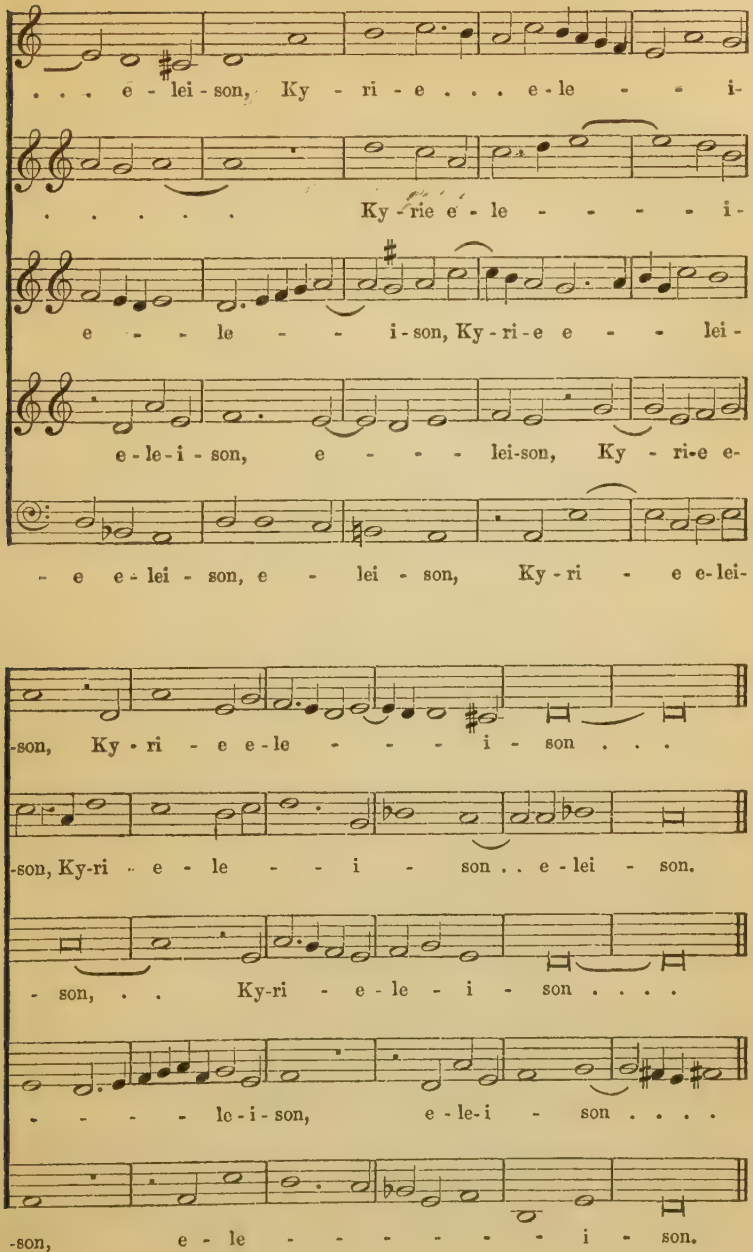
The Polish school continued a vigorous existence for many years, following the general course of music. In 1611 Nicholas Zielinski published in Venice a collection of his compositions for voices with instrumental accompaniment, in the manner of Giovanni Gabrieli; and as late even as the second decade of the eighteenth century, Cracow could still put forward a composer of great merit—Grzegórz Gorczycki, an ecclesiastic, whose motetts—one especially, an *Ave Maria*—will compare favourably with the work of his Venetian contemporary, Lotti.

'Mass: Paschalis.'

KYRIE.

From *Monumenta Musices Sacrae in Polonia.*
Ed. by l'Abbé Jos. Surzinski, 1887. Martinus Leopolita.




. . . e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e . . . e - le - - i -
. . . . . Ky - rie e - le - - - - - i -
e - - - le - - - i - son, Ky - ri - e e - - - lei -
e - le - i - son, e - - - - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e -
- e e - lei - son, e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei -
- son, Ky - ri - e e - le - - - - i - son . . .
- son, Ky - ri - e - le - - - i - son . . e - lei - son.
- son, . . Ky - ri - e - le - i - son . . . .
- - - - le - i - son, e - le - i - son . . . .
- son, e - le - - - - - - - - i - son.

Motett.

EGO SUM PASTOR BONUS.

From *Monumenta Musices Sacrae in Polonia.*
Ed. by l'Abbé Jos. Surzinski, 1887.

Venceslas Szamotulski.

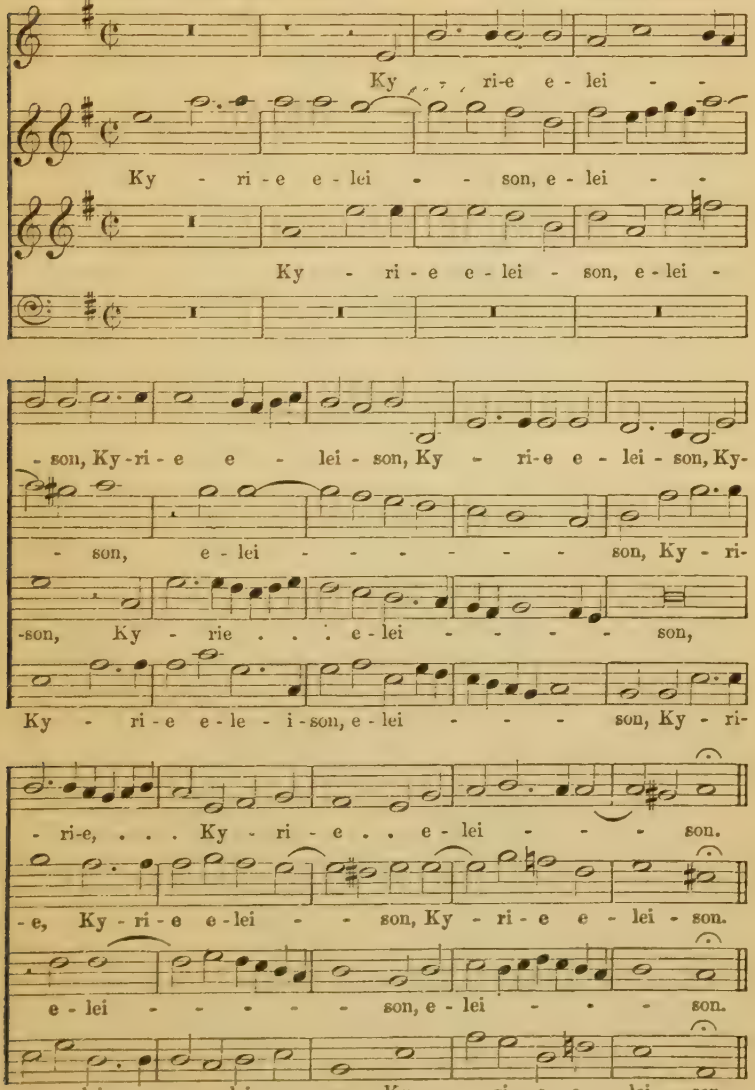
E - go . . sum pas-tor bo - nus, e - go sum pas - tor
E - go . . sum pas-tor bo - nus,
E - go . . sum pas-tor
bo - nus, e - go sum pas-tor bo - nus, ...
E - - - - - - go sum pas - tor bo - nus,
bo - nus, e - go sum pas - - - - tor, e - go sum
E - go . . sum pas-tor bo - nus, e - go sum
e - go sum pas-tor bo - - - nus, al - le - lu - ia, &c.
e-go sum pas-tor . . bo - nus, al - le - lu-ia, al - le - lu - ia, . . &c.
. . . pas - tor bo-nus, al - le - lu - ia, al- le-lu - ia, ... &c.
pas-tor bo - nus, al - lè - lu - - ia, al - le-lu - - ia, &c.

KYRIE.

MASS: 'IN MELODIAM MOTETI PISNEME.'

Mode I, transposed to A.

From *Monumenta Musices Sacrae in Polonia.*
Ed. by l'Abbé Jos. Surzinski, 1887. Thomas Szadek.


Ky - ri-e e - lei - -
Ky - ri - e e - lei - - son, e - lei - -
Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, e - lei -
- son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky-
- son, e - lei - - - - - - son, Ky - ri-
-son, Ky - rie . . . e - lei - - - - son,
Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son, e - lei - - - son, Ky - ri-
- ri-e, . . . Ky - ri - e . . e - lei - - - son.
-e, Ky - ri - e e - lei - - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son.
e - lei - - - - - son, e - lei - - - son.
-e e - lei - son, e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son.

With regard to Spain, it has hitherto been usual to disallow the claims of that country to possess a school of musicians. That it produced much music is admitted, but the originality of its productions, considering its constant close connexion with the Netherlands, is denied. But even Ambros, the latest writer of importance who has touched upon the subject, was necessarily ignorant of the existence of a most remarkable document, brought forward in the year 1890[1], which may be thought now to affect our judgement with respect to the position of Spanish music very considerably. This is a MS. marked 2, 1, 5, in the library of the Royal Palace at Madrid, containing between four and five hundred 'Songs,' both sacred and secular, set by sixty-four named composers, all native, together with many anonymous who may no doubt be presumed to have been Spanish also. Notwithstanding the great number of works contained in this collection—works illustrating every kind of sentiment,—religious, serious and amatory, historical and chivalrous, pastoral, jocular, &c.—the composers are representative of a short period only, and all flourished probably during the last decade of the fifteenth century and the first twenty years of the century following. The music itself, as we should of course naturally expect, is in principle Flemish, and as regards the earlier works, apparently, derived from the teaching and example of pupils of Dufay and Okeghem, among whom Alexander Agricola and Anton de Févin are known to have been for some time in Spain. Yet a consideration of the very large number of native workers, and of native workers only, represented in the *Cancionero*, and their firm grasp throughout of the current principles of composition—from whatever source these may have been derived—affords now apparently, in itself, sufficient reason for admitting the body of Spanish musicians of this time already among the schools.

The chief composer of this period was one Juan del Encina, a musician in the service of the Dukes of Alba and supposed also

[1] *Cancionero musical de los siglos xv y xvi*, transcrito y comentado por Francisco Asenjo Barbieri. Madrid, 1890.

to have been for a time a member of the Papal choir, to whom are ascribed not less than seventy-eight of the pieces contained in the *Cancionero*. Encina is a powerful writer, of considerable variety, who displays also great harmonic beauty within the limits of the simple forms of the *Cancionero*. We give a specimen of his work, as also of that of Lopé de Baena, another important contributor to the collection, who is mentioned in a poem, dated 1508, as *muy sotil componedor*. No compositions in ecclesiastical forms by either of these musicians have as yet apparently been discovered, and we cannot therefore form a complete idea of their capabilities, but already probably it will be felt, from these two short extracts alone, that the Spanish music possesses a peculiar quality of beauty, in which both passion and melancholy appear. This impression is strengthened by the examples quoted in Eslava's *Lira Sacro-Hispana*, of the ecclesiastical work of Francisco Peñalosa, a composer who has also written much that is included in the *Cancionero*; his *Sancta Mater* is designed, as regards its outward form, in a somewhat dry Flemish style, containing long pauses in the voice parts, yet the composer has made this method not only tolerable but enjoyable from the beauty of his effects.

In the work of Bernardino Ribera, another of the group, we again find expression, but combined with the beauty which distinguishes the school as a whole. This is seen, for instance, in the opening of his *Magnificat* in the first tone transposed, which has been taken as our example, where the melodious and flowing character of the voice parts is most remarkable.

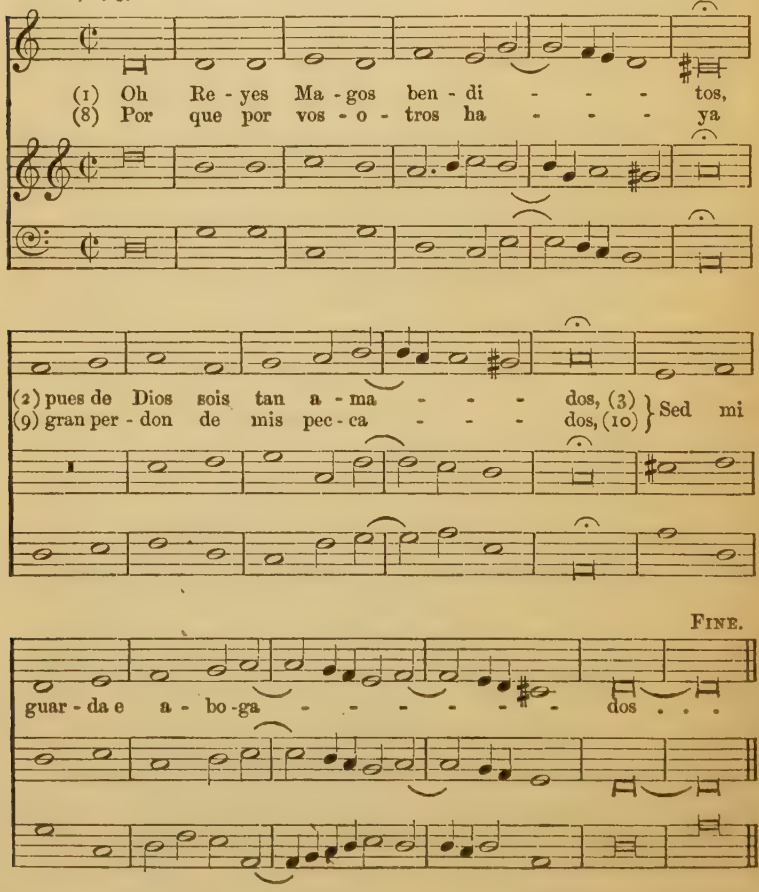
Andres Torrentes and Cristobal Morales, the two remaining members of the group, were each in turn Maestro di Cappella at Toledo; Torrentes, who died in 1544, immediately preceding Morales, who was appointed in 1545, after his return from Rome. The reputation of Morales, the contemporary, as has been said, of Gombert, and musically of much the same rank, has naturally overshadowed that of his predecessor; yet Torrentes was an excellent composer, whose method may be

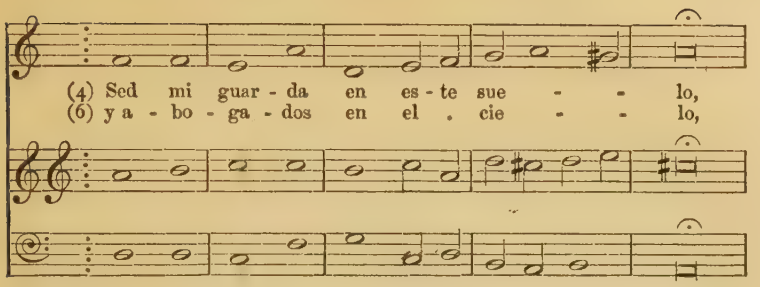
seen in the opening of a *Magnificat*, in the seventh tone, which is quoted in Eslava's first volume. Our example of Morales reveals him fairly as a somewhat dry composer, but possessed of admirable means, including many contrapuntal figures which later formed part of the perfected method; we see moreover that he was capable also occasionally of great beauties, such for instance as the lovely *Alleluia* subject which haunts all the latter half of the motett, and takes complete possession of the last twelve or thirteen bars.

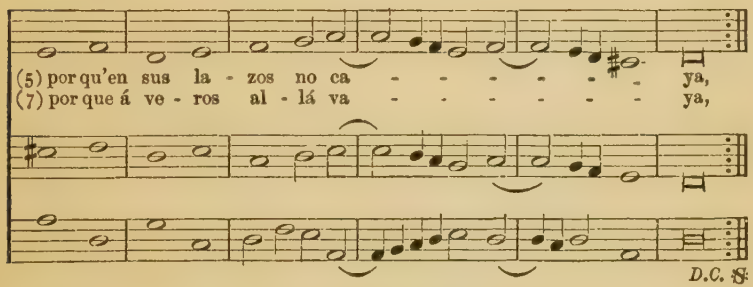
Oh Reyes Magos.

Bibl. del Real Palacio de Madrid.
MS. 2, 1, 5, fol. cclxx^{b}.

Juan del Encina.


(1) Oh Re - yes Ma - gos ben - di - - - tos,
(8) Por que por vos - o - tros ha - - - ya
(2) pues de Dios sois tan a - ma - - - dos, (3)
(9) gran per - don de mis pec - ca - - - dos, (10)
Sed mi
Fine.
guar - da e a - bo - ga - - - - - - dos . . .

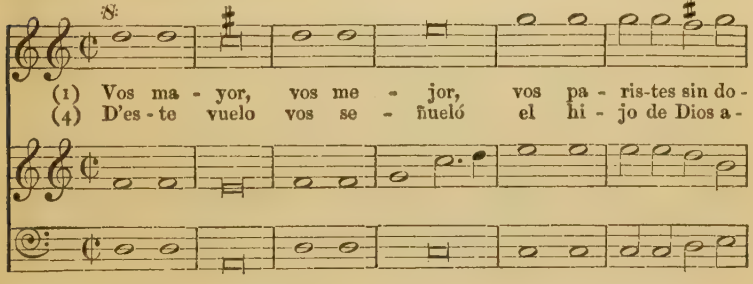


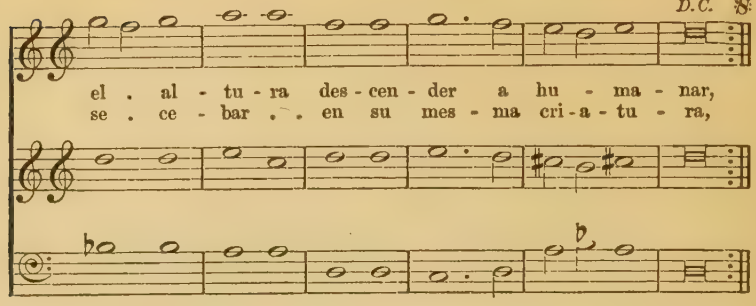


Vos mayor.

Bibl. del Real Palacio de Madrid.
MS. 2, 1, 5, fol. cclx^{b}.

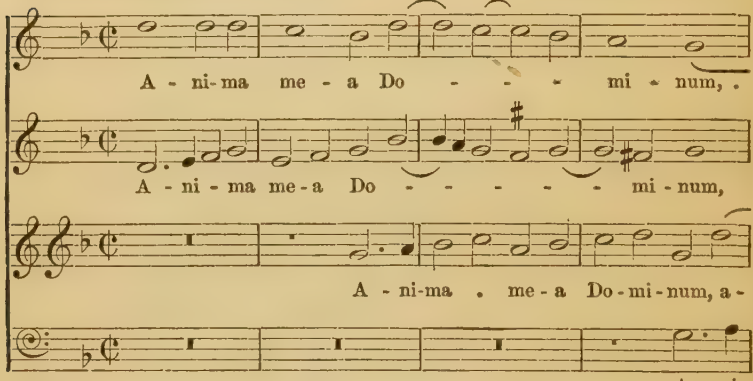
Lope de Baena.

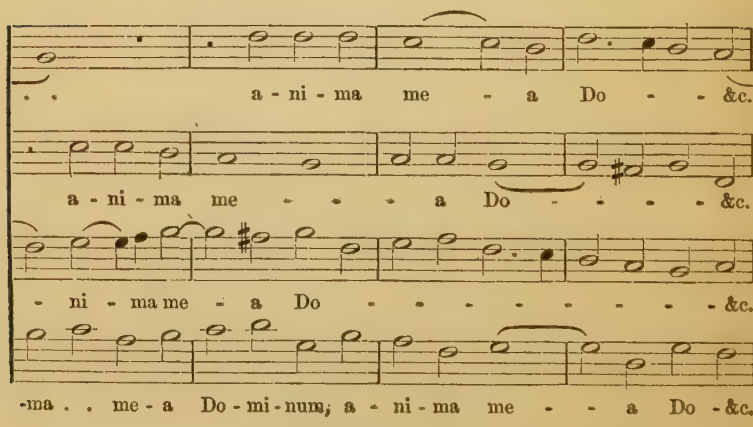




Magnificat.

Lira Sacro-Hispana.
H. Eslava, Madrid, serie 16, tom. i. p. 61. Bernardino Ribera.

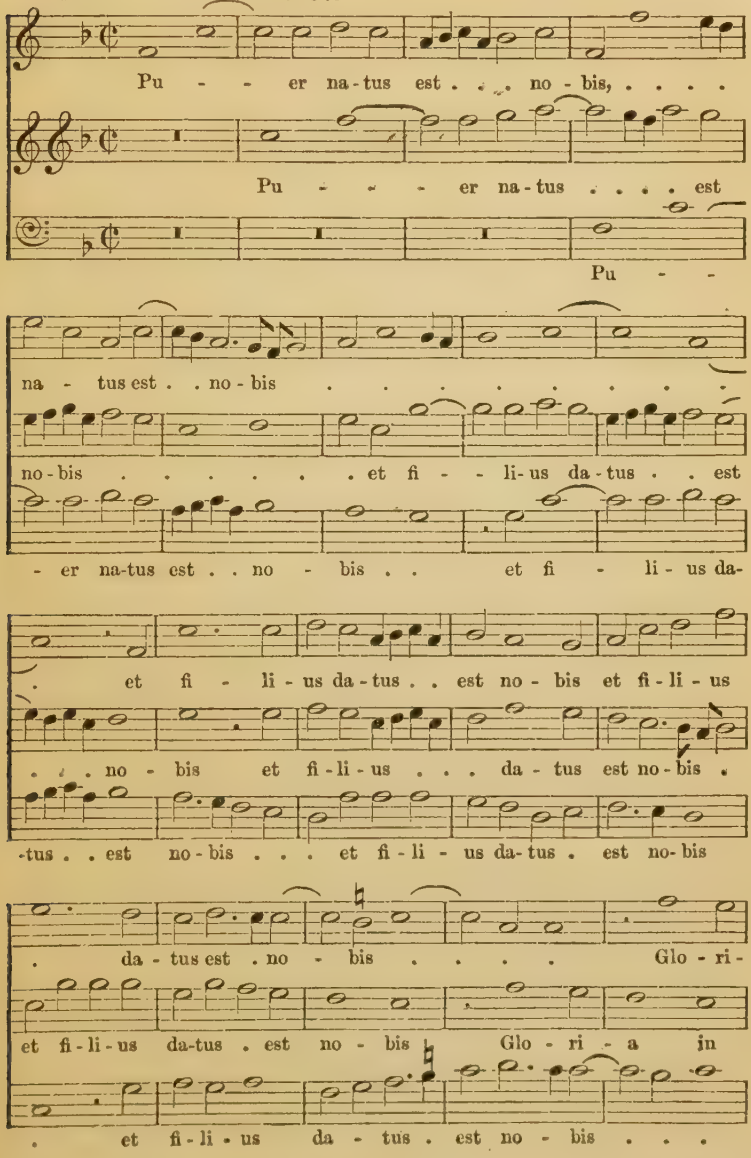


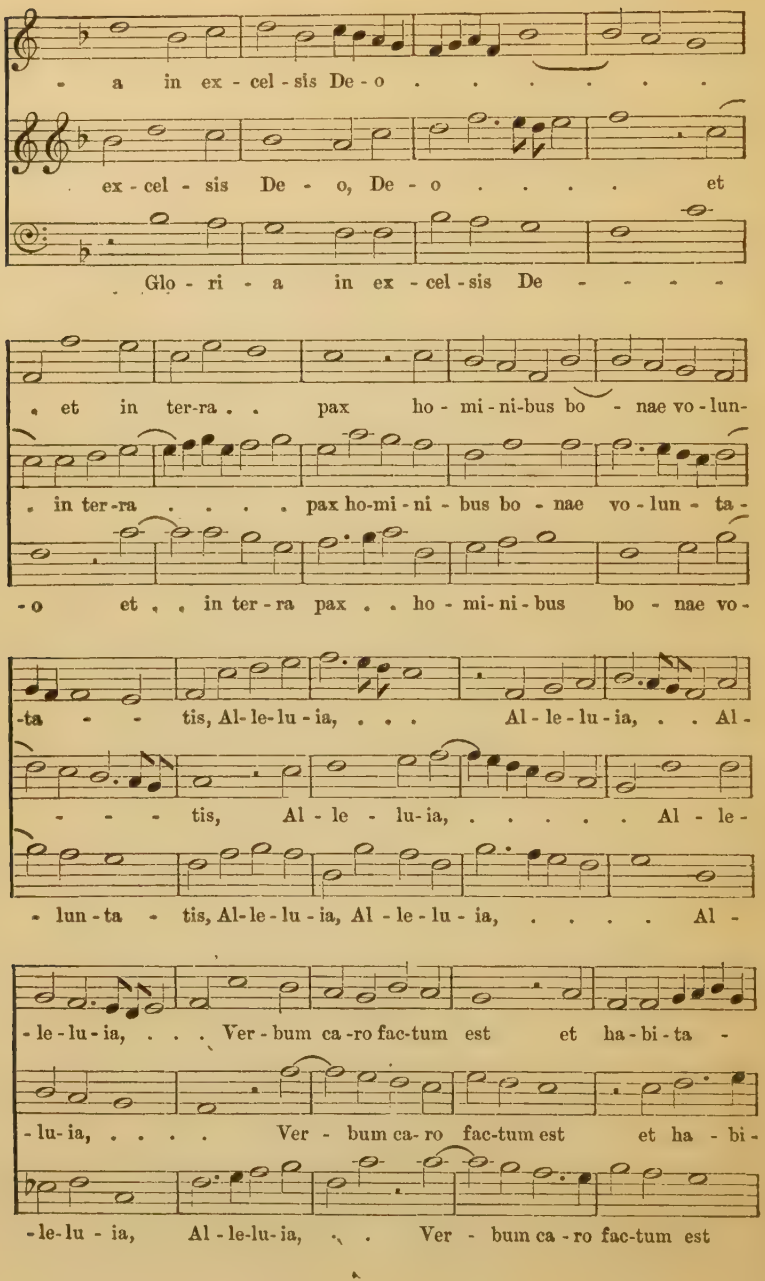


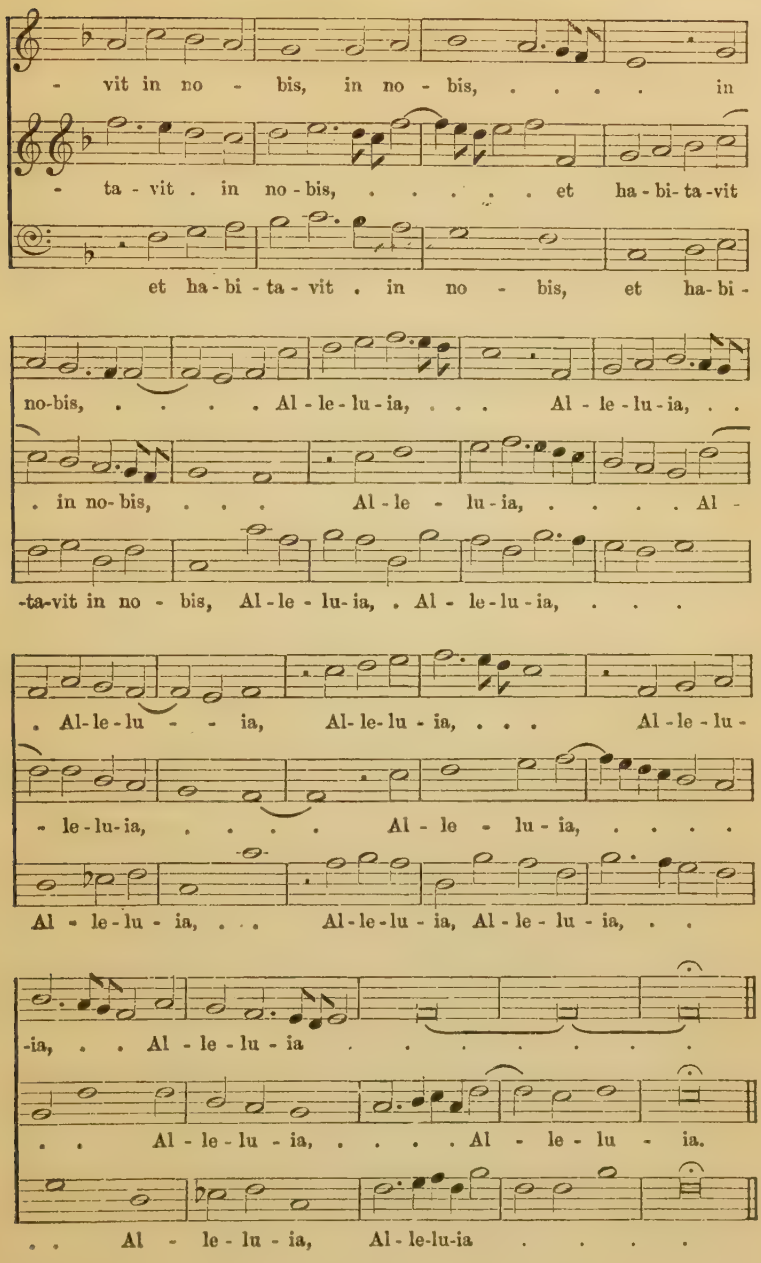
Motett.

'PUER NATUS EST.'

Motetta trium vocum ab pluribus authoribus
composita. Venice, Gardane, 1543. Morales.


Pu - - er na-tus est . . . no - bis, ...
Pu - - - er na-tus . . . . est
Pu - -
na - tus est . . no - bis . . . . . .
no-bis . . . . . et fi - - li-us da-tus . . est
- er na-tus est . . no - bis . . et fi - li - us da-
. et fi - li - us da-tus . . est no - bis et fi-li - us
. . . no - bis et fi-li-us . . . da - tus est no-bis .
-tus . . est no-bis . . . et fi-li - us da-tus . est no-bis
. da - tus est . no - bis . . . . Glo - ri-
et fi-li-us da-tus . est no - bis Glo - ri - a in
. et fi-li - us da - tus . est no - bis . . .


- a in ex - cel - sis De - o . . . . . .
ex - cel - sis De - o, De - o . . . . et
Glo - ri - a in ex - cel - sis De - - - -
. et in ter-ra . . pax ho - mi - ni-bus bo - nae vo - lun-
. in ter-ra . . . . pax ho-mi - ni - bus bo - nae vo - lun - ta -
-o et . . in ter - ra pax . . ho - mi - ni - bus bo - nae vo -
-ta - - tis, Al - le - lu - ia, . . . Al - le - lu - ia, . . Al -
- - - tis, Al - le - lu - ia, ... Al - le -
- lun - ta - tis, Al - le - lu - ia, Al - le - lu - ia, ... Al -
-le - lu - ia, . . . Ver - bum ca - ro fac - tum est et ha - bi - ta -
-lu - ia, ... Ver - bum ca - ro fac - tum est et ha - bi -
-le - lu - ia, Al - le - lu - ia, . . Ver - bum ca - ro fac - tum est


- vit in no - bis, in no - bis, ... in
- ta - vit . in no - bis, ... et ha - bi - ta - vit
et ha - bi - ta - vit . in no - bis, et ha - bi -
no - bis, ... Al - le - lu - ia, . . . Al - le - lu - ia, . .
. in no - bis, . . . Al - le - lu - ia, ... Al -
-ta-vit in no - bis, Al - le - lu - ia, . Al - le - lu - ia, . . .
. Al - le - lu - ia, Al - le - lu - ia, . . . Al - le - lu -
- le - lu - ia, ... Al - le - lu - ia, ...
Al - le - lu - ia, . . . Al - le - lu - ia, Al - le - lu - ia, . .
-ia, . . Al - le - lu - ia . . . . . .
. . Al - le - lu - ia, ... Al - le - lu - ia.
. . Al - le - lu - ia, Al - le - lu - ia . . . .

CHAPTER IV

THE ENGLISH SCHOOL

The communication of the special methods of the school of Dunstable to Dufay and his contemporaries was, as we have seen, a fortunate circumstance for the art of music, far-reaching both in its immediate effects and its final consequences; yet the Englishmen themselves were apparently quite unprepared to join in the development of these methods which immediately followed upon their adoption by the Gallo-Belgic composers, and having unconsciously set on foot the great reform in music, they took no further part in it. The consequence of this renunciation may of course easily be imagined; Tinctoris, for instance, writing twenty-five years after the death of Dunstable, when the first results of the great awakening were already beginning to take shape in the works of the 'moderns,' as he calls them—Okeghem, Regis, Busnois, Caron, Faugues[1],—says that the original relations of the two schools had become reversed, and that the English must now come to their old pupils; 'for the moderns in these latter days have discovered much that is new, while their former teachers (which is a sign of the most pitiful capacity) continue composing in their old method, ever the same[2].'

That the purely English methods had but a comparatively short vogue among the Gallo-Belgians, and were soon deserted in favour of others which in fact they themselves alone had rendered possible, is quite clear from the account of the work of Okeghem and his school which has already been given, but it might also partly appear from an analysis of the collections in which the English compositions are found. In the Trient codices, for instance, this decline in favour may perhaps be

[1] 'These musicians,' says Tinctoris, 'can boast that they received their instruction from the lately deceased Dunstable, Binchois, and Dufay.' *Cousse. Script.* iv. 77.

[2] *Cousse. Script.* iv. 154.

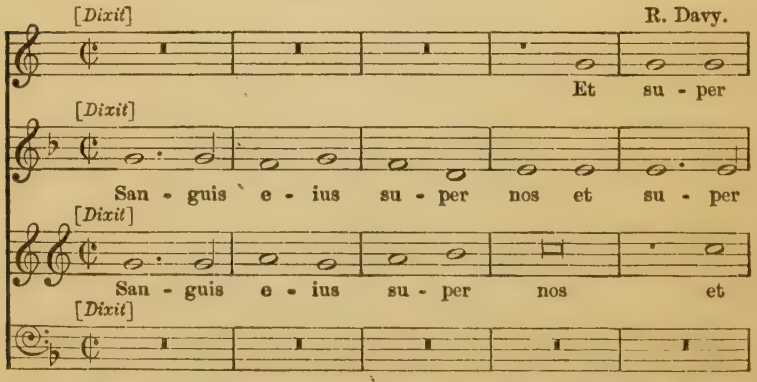
traced in a comparison of the number of English works contained in them at different periods. Two of the six volumes, for example, Nos. 87 and 92, the contents of which may be said, according to Professor Adler, to date between 1420 and 1440—a period which would include the discovery of the English music by Dufay and his school—contain a large number of works, in all about thirty-two or thirty-three, by our countrymen; three volumes, Nos. 88, 89, and 90, dating between 1444 and 1465, a period within which falls the year of Dunstable's death, contain each only two or three; in the volume No. 91, dating between 1460 and 1480, the period during which Tinctoris was writing, there are none. But whatever the importance of these facts may be, there can be little doubt, from the entire absence of English names among those of the 'moderns' in the collections about the beginning of the following century, that before the year 1500 the foreign branch of the English school was extinct.

The censure passed by Tinctoris upon the followers of Dunstable applies also, though with less force perhaps than we should have been inclined to suppose, to the main body of the English composers who practised in this country. We last considered the work of this school as it is exemplified in the Old Hall MS., which represents the native methods of serious composition from about 1430 to about 1450, and we may now observe its continuation in a volume of equal importance—a large choir-book preserved at Eton College—dating probably from 1490 to 1504, that is to say during the latter half of the reign of King Henry VII. In comparing the latter volume with the former two points especially attract our attention, namely, a considerable difference in the character of the later music, and a relatively small advance in respect of technique. On the one hand, we see that the composers have now almost entirely abandoned the continuous plainsong subject in the lower part, and that all the voices therefore are now entirely free; on the other, it is plain that no effective substitute for this ancient means of giving form to the composition has been clearly adopted;

the system includes neither of the admirable methods for this purpose which were now becoming common in the Netherlands, and we find but rarely either the passages in canon and fugue, or the clear harmonic progression of groups of chords, which Okeghem and his fellow workers were at this time already employing as the corner-stones of their compositions. The counterpoint, however, is regular, arbitrary discords are as a rule abolished, and there is an evident attempt towards smoothness of effect. But although agreeable sounds are often produced, the whole is vague, and suffers from the absence both of structure and of harmonic propriety.

The Eton MS. would seem to have been intended as a collection of motetts and hymns in praise of the Virgin. Originally it consisted of nearly one hundred compositions, but the volume is imperfect, and now contains little more than half that number. The list of composers is considerable, and includes several names which appear frequently in later collections—Fayrfax, for instance, Gilbert Banaster, William Cornysch, Richard Davy, and Wilkinson the transcriber of the volume—but none of those which occur in the Old Hall MS. Our examples are the first two sentences of a *Passio Domini*, by Davy, who was organist of Magdalen College, Oxford, and the beginning of a *Salve Regina* by Cornysch, of Henry VII's establishment.

Eton MS. PASSIO DOMINI.

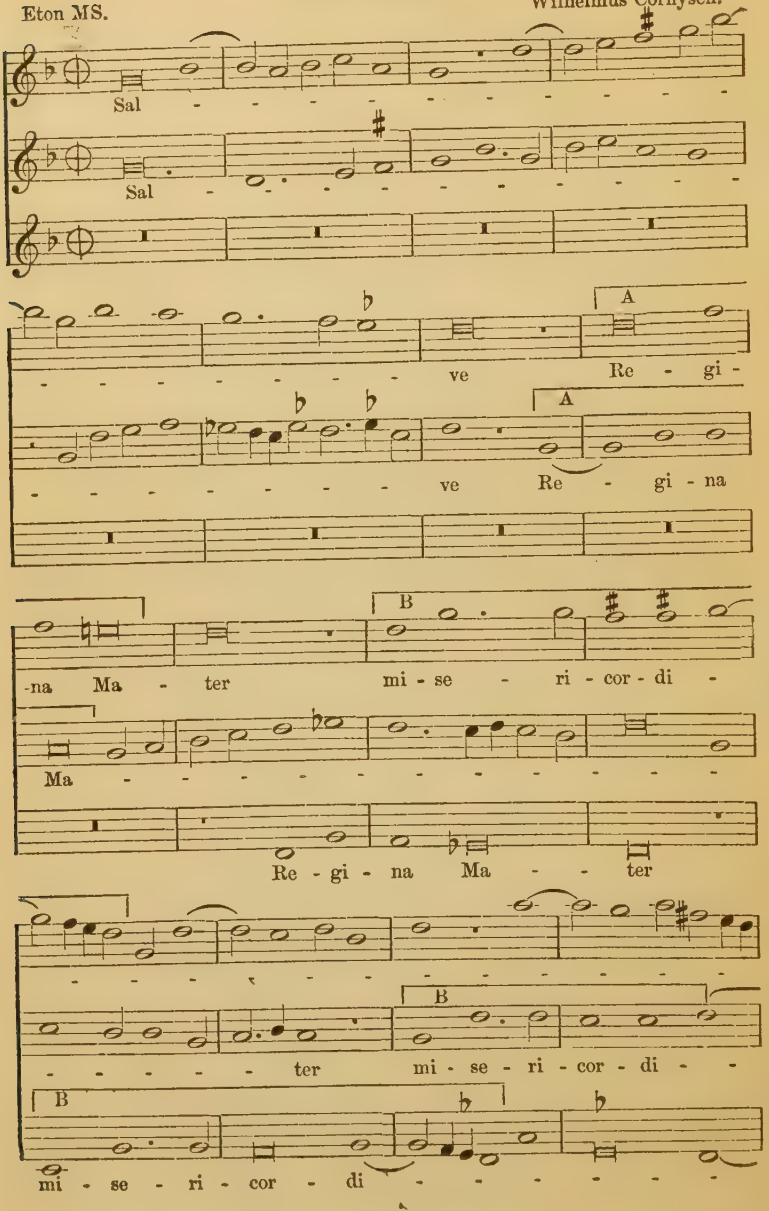


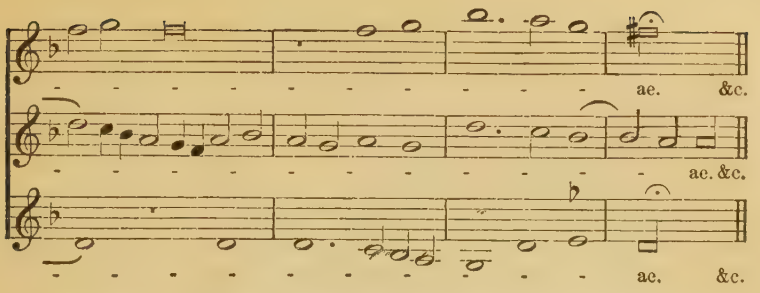
fi - li - os nos - - - - - - - -
fi - li - os . . . nos - - - - - - -
su - per fi - li - os nos - - - - - - -
Et su - per fi - li - os nos -
[et dicentes]
- - - tros. A - - - ve, Rex
[et dicentes]
- - - tros. A - - - ve, Rex Iu - de -
[et dicentes]
- - - tros. A - - - ve, Rex Iu - de -
[et dicentes]
- - - tros. A - - - ve, Rex Iu - de -
Iu - de - o - - - - - - - - - rum.
- o - - - - - - - - - - rum.
- o - - - - - - - - rum . . .
- o - - - - - - - - - - rum.

Hymn.

SALVE REGINA.

Eton MS. Wilhelmus Cornysch.





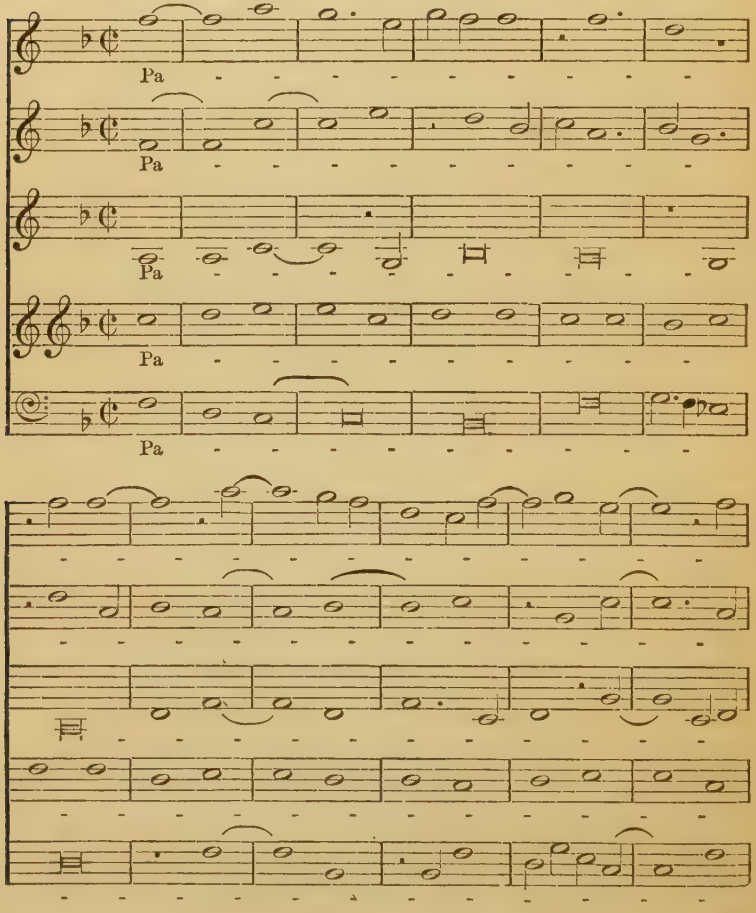
The methods of this period are seen again in a fine volume of secular music, now in the British Museum, and marked Addl. MSS., 5465. The collection contains five songs by Robert Fayrfax, and since it is supposed to be in the handwriting of that composer himself, and moreover was in the seventeenth century found in the possession of a Fayrfax family in Yorkshire, it has come to be known as the *Fayrfax Book*. Several of the composers represented in the Eton MS. are found again here—Davy, for instance, Browne, Cornysch, Banaster, and Turges. New names also appear—Phelyppis, Newark, Sherynghham, and Tudor. In other MSS. also, in the British Museum, at Lambeth Palace, in Cambridge at the University Library and at Caius College, and elsewhere, we find collections of works of the more serious and important kinds—long compositions, elaborately treated—Masses, motetts and hymns to the Virgin; and here, in the lists of composers, the name of Fayrfax always appears, together with others well known and some new—Pasche, Ludford, Ashwell, Pygott, Hyllary, Hawte, Prowett—most of them men of ability, and all hard-working and productive. It is evident, too, that a new and reactionary school is forming, sincere in its rejection of the Netherland methods, and convinced that pure counterpoint, together with an occasional short point of imitation in the body of the movement, is sufficient to supply the necessary interest in music; and of such a school Fayrfax, whose work perfectly represents the aims of the men about him, is the natural head. And although composers were of course soon to learn that counterpoint alone is not sufficient to maintain the

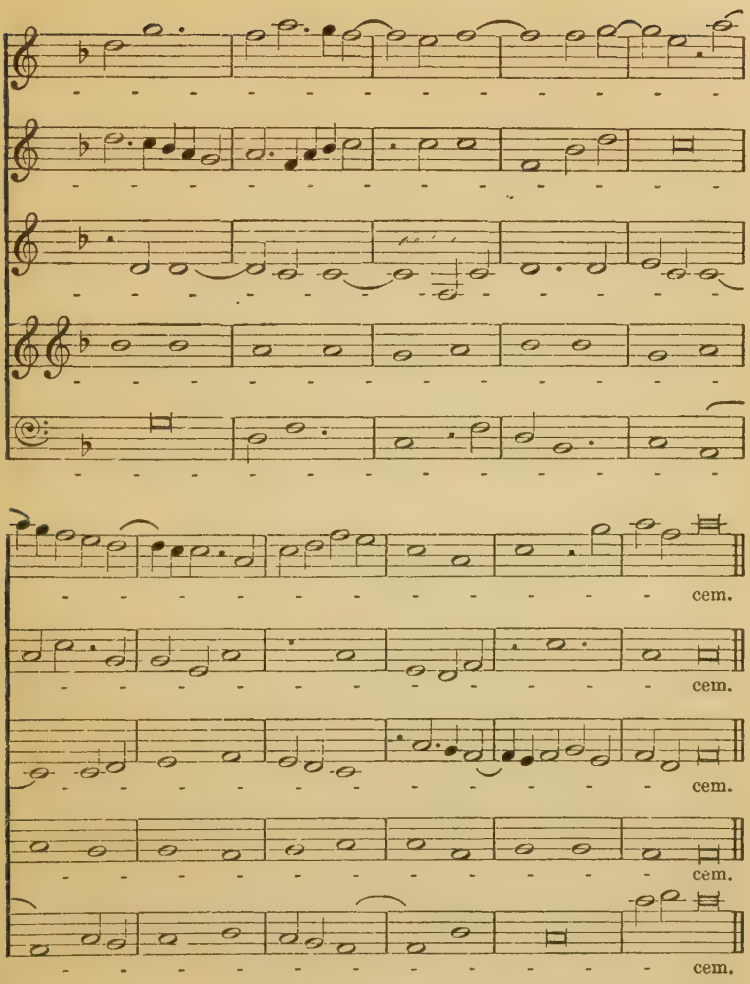
interest of music, yet for the moment the endeavour to justify their convictions occupied the whole of their attention; and it may be said that this concentration of effort upon a single means of beauty was often rewarded by the discovery of extremely fine effects of sound. Our example, the word *pacem* from the *Dona nobis* of Fayrfax's Mass *Albanus*, may perhaps be accepted as an instance of this.

MASS: ALBANUS.

DONA NOBIS PACEM.

Bodl. Lib., MSS. Music Sch. E 376–81. Robert Fayrfax.





When, or in what manner exactly, the new Flemish music came to England it is impossible to say; but since there is no known record of any visits of Flemish composers to this country during the period with which we are at present concerned, it is probable that it came by way of MSS. and printed books. Petrucci, for instance, had been printing compositions by the Netherlanders since 1503, and these works might very well have

been brought to the notice of the Chapel by Henry VIII[1], himself a composer, though a poor one[2]. But however this may be, the actual date of the introduction of the Flemish methods into English music would seem to be about the year 1516, since it is in a volume dated in that year, containing two motetts by Sampson, dean of the Chapel Royal, that we find the earliest known example in this country of the unmistakable imitation of foreign workmanship[3]; the beginning therefore of one of these motetts, *Quam pulchra es*, may be given here as our first illustration of the English music in the new manner. Its affinities with the contemporary Flemish work are evident in the fugal opening, in the short points of imitation which follow, and in the elaborate plagal cadence; upon the whole, too,

[1] A small book, formerly belonging to the king, and containing compositions by Josquin and his circle, is preserved in the Pepysian collection at Magdalene College, Cambridge.

[2] A few words upon the subject of the king's compositions will be expected here, and it may be said at once that they are remarkably inferior in merit to those of his predecessor, Henry VI. The work of 'Roy Henry' was equal in ability to the best produced in his Chapel; that of Henry VIII, on the other hand, is for the most part unworthy of serious attention. The present writer, having scored the whole of the thirty-three 'Songs' by the king contained in the Brit. Mus. MS. Addl. 31922, is after all unwilling to occupy valuable space with an example. They reveal no settled method; some are composed quite in the old style, with bare intervals, notes badly doubled, and constant arbitrary discord, while in others the methods remind us of those more lately in favour abroad. Probably these pieces were composed at different times and under the direction of instructors of widely different views; but though this might account for their wavering phases of style, absence of talent and of musical individuality in the composer can alone account for their extreme dullness. Two of these songs, *Pastyme with good Company*, and *Whereto should I expresse*—the best in fact in the collection,—were printed by the present writer in his edition of William Chappell's *Old English Popular Music*, 1893.

[3] The volume also contains a few anonymous motetts, entirely in the current Flemish manner, and one also, in the same style, to which the name of 'Benedictus de Opicijs' is affixed. Concerning this composer, whose name is not met with in any other known collection, we have no information; but it is certainly a curious circumstance that the date of this MS. coincides, within one year, with that of the last information which we possess with respect to Benedictus Ducis of Antwerp, an important composer, of whom nothing is known after 1515. Fétis says that in that year he came to England at the invitation of Henry VIII; but in the absence of any record of this visit the supposition has generally been rejected.

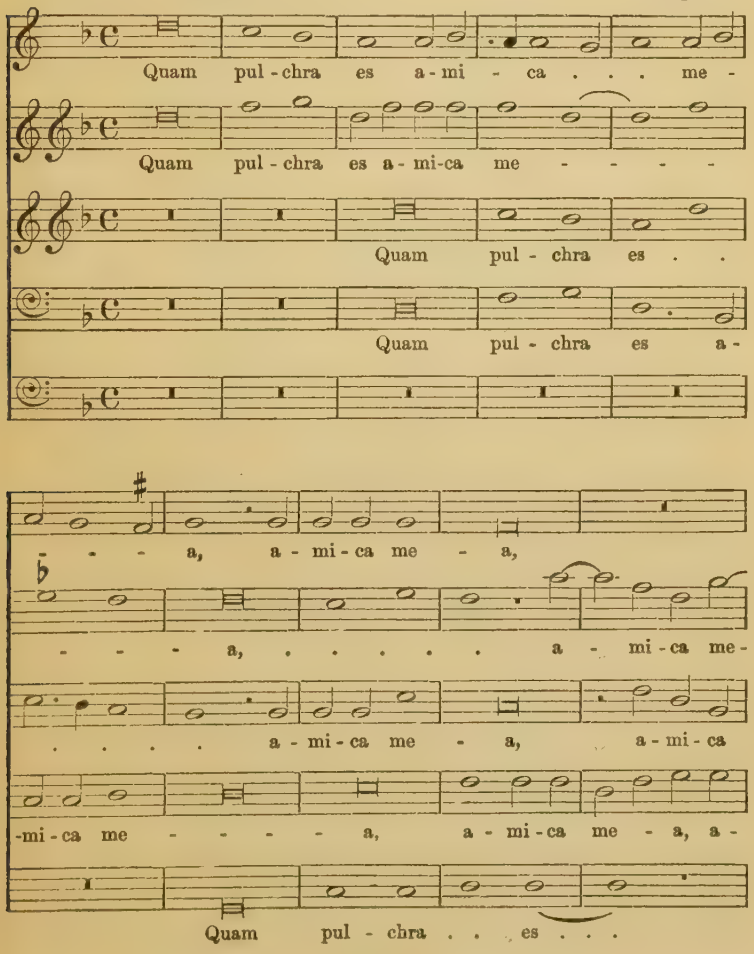
harmonic propriety is recognized, though not aimed at altogether in the same degree as in the Flemish work of the time. Nevertheless the mode is well established, and throughout the composition Hypodorian harmony clearly prevails.

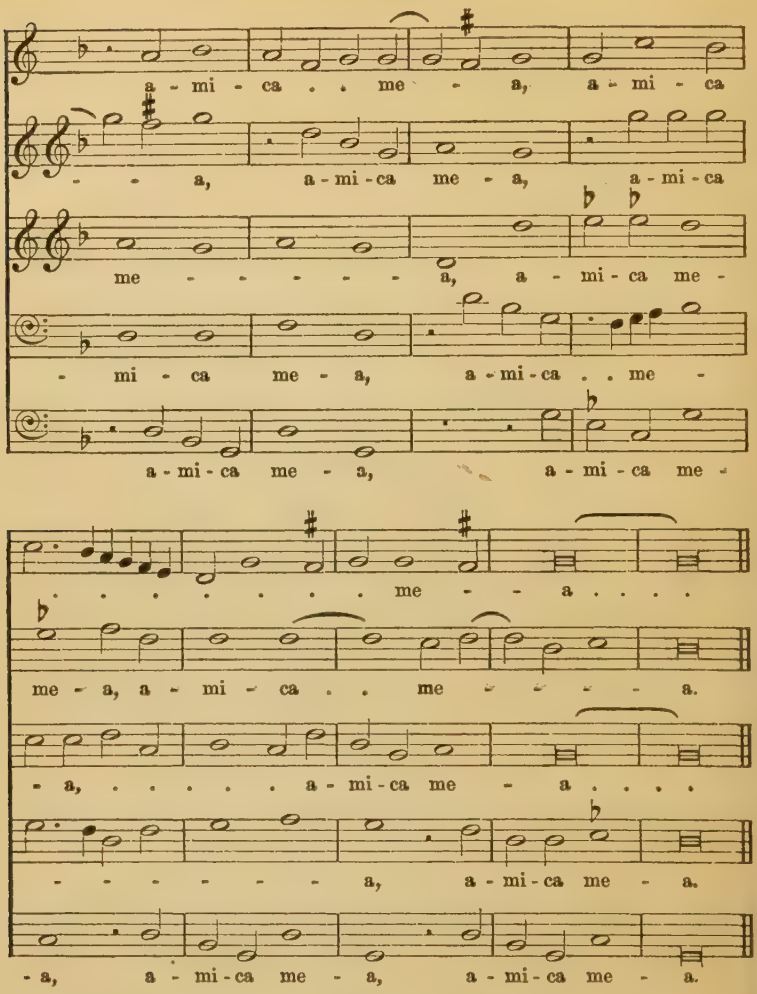
Motett.

QUAM PULCHRA ES.

(Opening portion.)

Brit. Mus., Royal MSS. 11, E. xi. Sampson.


Quam pul-chra es a-mi-ca . . . me-
Quam pul-chra es a-mi-ca me- - - - -
Quam pul-chra es . .
Quam pul-chra es a-
- - - a, a-mi-ca me-a,
- - - a, ... a-mi-ca me-
. . . . a-mi-ca me-a, a-mi-ca
-mi-ca me- - - - - a, a-mi-ca me-a, a-
Quam pul-chra . . es . . .


a - mi - ca . . me - a, a - mi - ca
- - a, a - mi - ca me - a, a - mi - ca
me - - - - - - a, a - mi - ca me -
- mi - ca me - a, a - mi - ca . . me -
a - mi - ca me - a, a - mi - ca me -
. . . . . me - - a . . . .
me - a, a - mi - ca . . me - - - - a.
- a, ... a - mi - ca me - a . . . .
- - - - - - - a, a - mi - ca me - a.
- a, a - mi - ca me - a, a - mi - ca me - a.

Were we engaged upon a history entirely devoted to the music of our country, it would be possible, and interesting in the highest degree, to follow the course of the movement thus set on foot, and to trace its consequences in the works of all the men who formed the splendid constellation of English composers in the sixteenth century; but, considering the nature of our undertaking, we must be content with a limited view, confining

our attention for the most part to the representative works of Tye, Byrd, and Tallis.

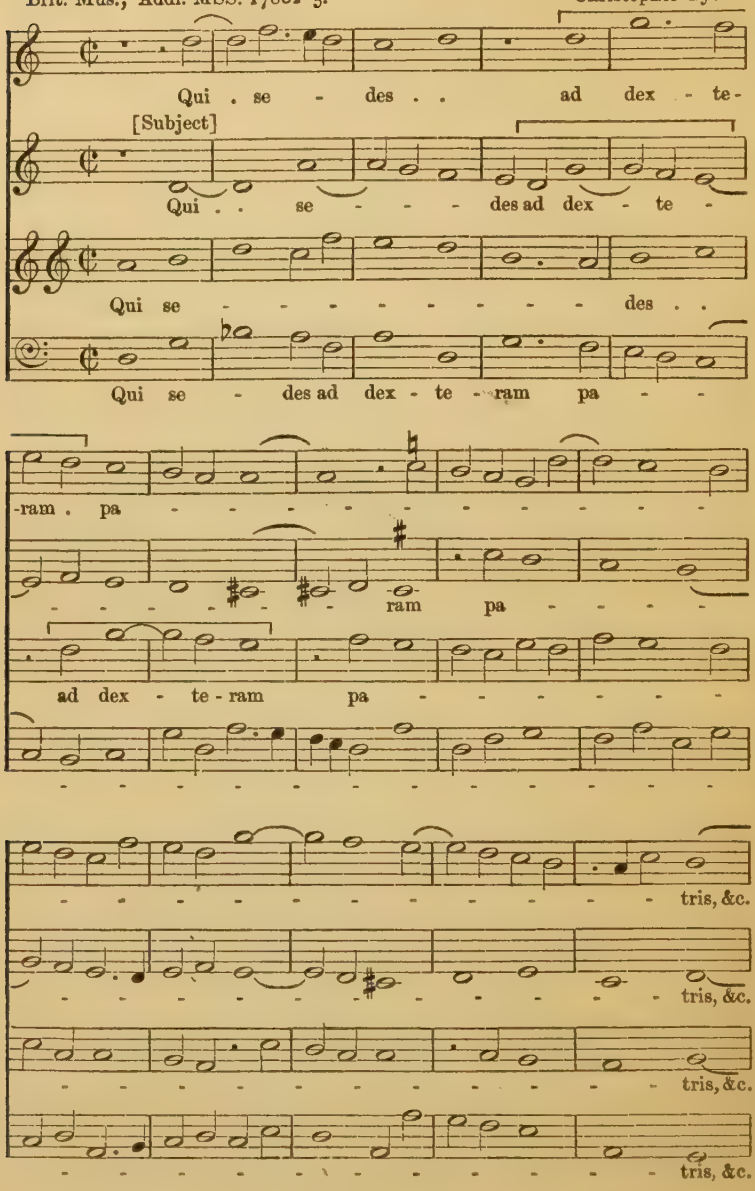
Tye was born about 1500, and was first a chorister and afterwards a lay clerk in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge. Here, therefore, probably he received his musical education, and especially that complete instruction in the old style of pure counterpoint which enabled him to employ the foreign methods, when they came to his knowledge, to such excellent purpose. That Tye embraced these methods eagerly, or such of them at least as were concerned with the treatment of fugue, and that he must have made himself well acquainted with some of the more important foreign works, is evident from his compositions. The fine early Miserere, for instance, for five men's voices, which is to be found in more than one of the principal manuscript collections of the time, opens with a two-voiced canon at the distance of a semibreve, continued after the entry of a third voice with the same subject, which reminds us of Dufay and his pupils; and throughout, in fact, vague counterpoint is banished, and the whole work is constructed entirely of fugal passages. Tye's choice, too, of a popular English tune, *Westron Wynde*, as the subject of one of his early Masses, must have been intended as a mark of his admiration for Netherland methods, and would stand alone as a monumental experiment in the history of English music, but for imitations, probably, of his work by two of his fellow composers, Sheppard and Taverner, who also made Masses upon the same melody. In all that he attempts in these early works, Tye is quite the equal of his models, and in his great six-voiced Mass, *Euge bone*[1], the characteristic work of his maturity, he clearly shows that in middle age also he had not fallen behind his Netherland contemporaries, but had kept pace with their development. In some respects indeed—in the melodious freshness, for instance, of the fugal subjects in this admirable composition—he passes beyond them.

[1] For all known particulars respecting Tye's life and works see the preface to Mr. G. E. P. Arkwright's edition of this Mass. Oxford, Parker, 1893.

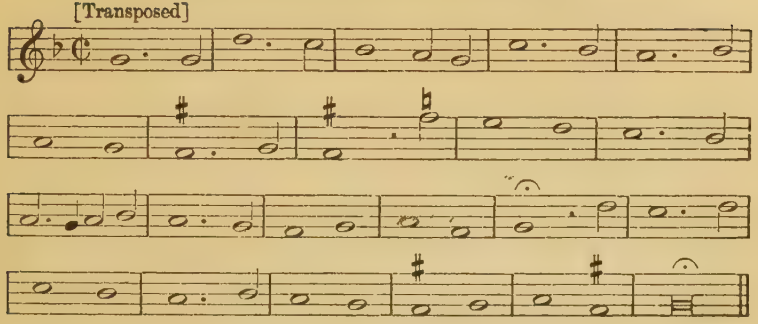
Mass: Westron Wynde.

QUI SEDES.

Brit. Mus., Addl. MSS. 17802-5. Christopher Tye.


Qui . se - des . . ad dex - te -
[Subject]
Qui . . se - - - - des ad dex - te -
Qui se - - - - - - - - - - des . .
Qui se - des ad dex - te - ram pa - -
-ram . pa - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - ram pa - - - -
ad dex - te - ram pa - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - tris, &c.
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - tris, &c.
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - tris, &c.
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - tris, &c.

TUNE TAKEN BY TYE AS HIS SUBJECT.

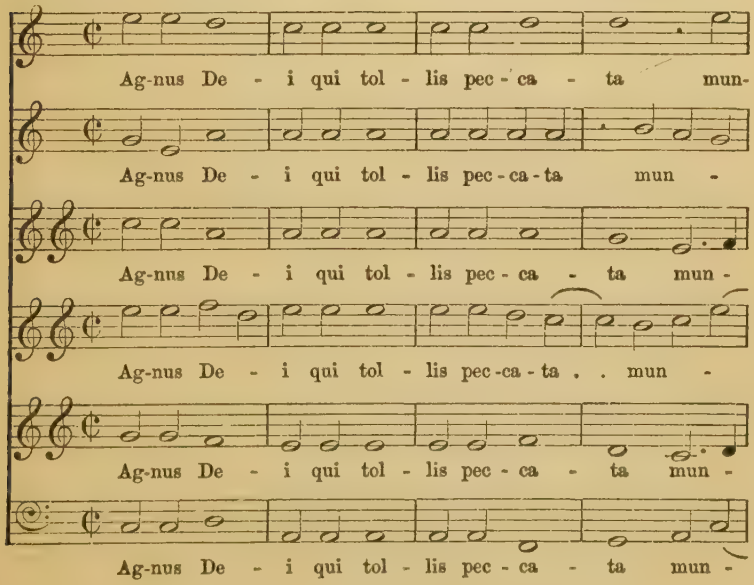


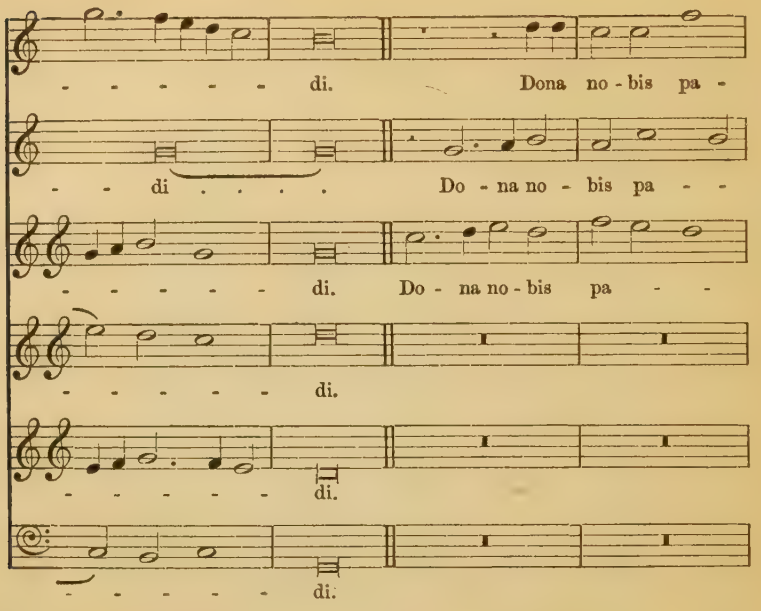
In *Qui sedes*, above, Tye has thrown the strong beat of the tune upon the weak beat of his composition, for the sake of variety. In another portion of the Mass, *Cum sancto Spiritu*, he has, for the same reason, taken the tune in triple measure.

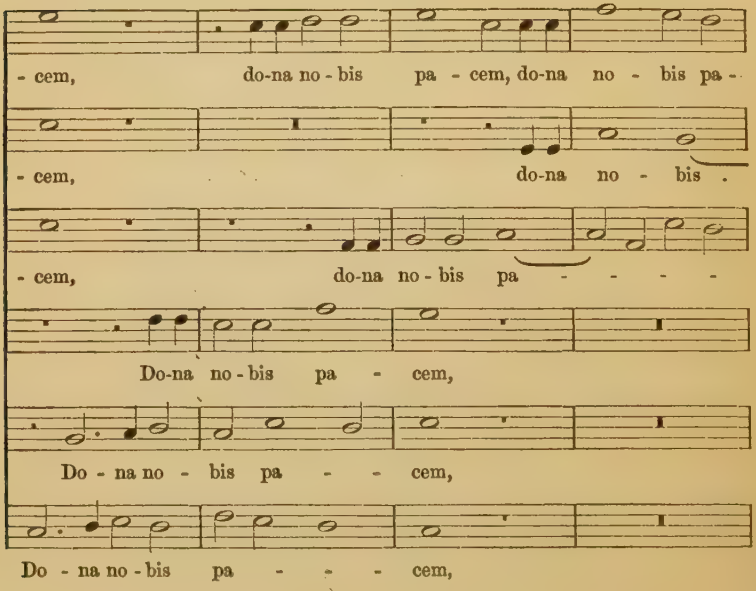
MASS: EUGE BONE.

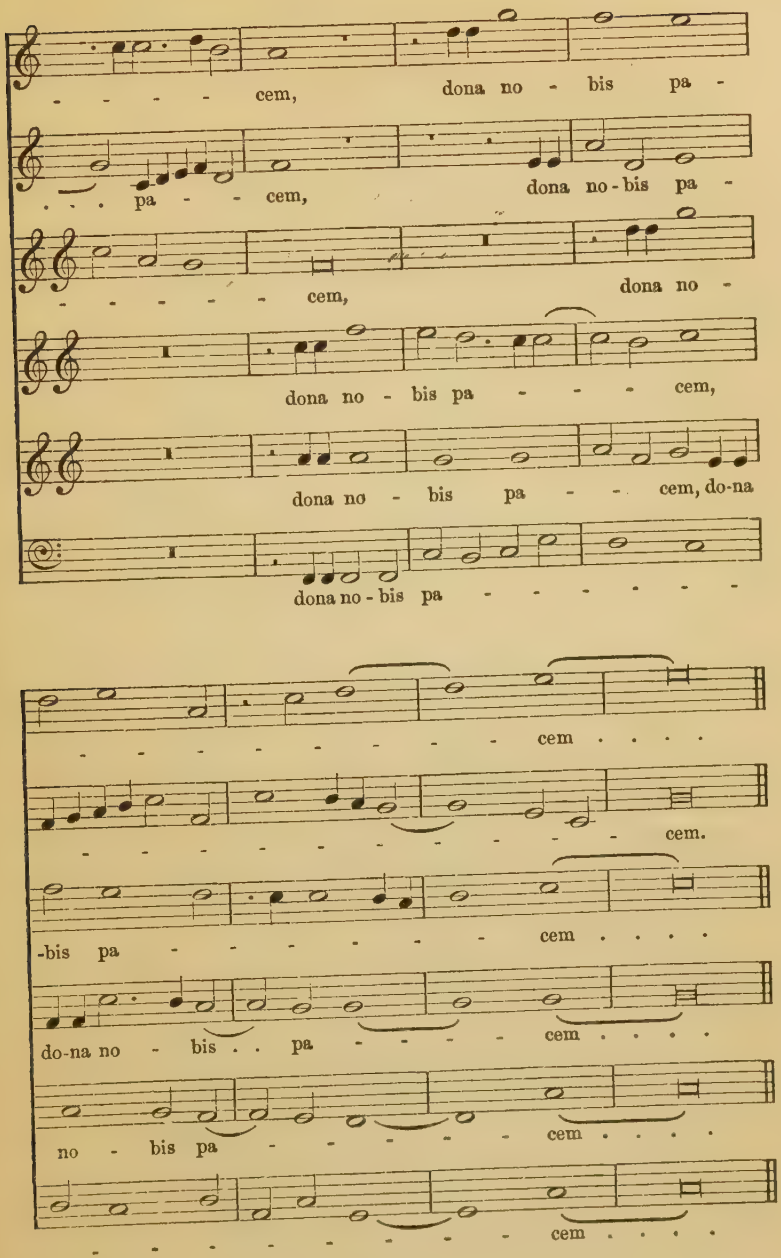
AGNUS DEI.

Bodleian Library,
MS. Music School, E. 376–81. Christopher Tye.


Ag-nus De - i qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun-
Ag-nus De - i qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun -
Ag-nus De - i qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun -
Ag-nus De - i qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta . . mun -
Ag-nus De - i qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun -
Ag-nus De - i qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun -


- - - - - - di. Dona no - bis pa -
- - di . . . . Do - na no - bis pa - -
- - - - - - di. Do - na no - bis pa - -
- - - - - - di.
- - - - - - di.
- - - - - - di.


- cem, do-na no - bis pa - cem, do-na no - bis pa -
- cem, do-na no - bis .
- cem, do-na no - bis pa - - - -
Do-na no - bis pa - cem,
Do - na no - bis pa - - cem,
Do - na no - bis pa - - - cem,


cem, dona no - bis pa -
. . . pa - - cem, dona no - bis pa -
- - - - - cem, dona no -
dona no - bis pa - - - - cem,
dona no - bis pa - - cem, do-na
dona no - bis pa - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - cem . . . .
- - - - - - - - - - - cem.
-bis pa - - - - - - - cem . . . .
do-na no - bis . . pa - - - - - cem . . . .
no - bis pa - - - - - - cem . . . .
- - - - - - - - - cem . . . .

Respecting the early education of Tallis, Tye's junior by about ten years, we have no information; but from an examination of his remaining works it would appear that he, like Tye, was brought up in the purely contrapuntal school, and that he also, comparatively early in life, began to abandon the methods of that school to follow those of the contemporary Netherland composers. In an interesting work of his youth, as we may suppose, a *Magnificat* for four voices, we observe the early methods still in full operation—the careful avoidance, that is to say, of any resemblance to fugue in the opening, and the employment of one conceded point of imitation about the middle of the movement, which we have already seen not only in Tye's early music, but also in the work of Cornysch; moreover we may note the strange experimental construction of the final close, so characteristic of the old school, a construction in which the essential members of the cadence do not appear. But the consideration which not least perhaps induces us to assign this work of Tallis to the period of youth and inexperience arises from its lack of beauty; the vocal phrases are devoid of interest, and the harmonic effect is often disappointing. An improvement in this respect is to be observed in the *Sanctus* from the remarkable four-part Mass in the British Museum collection; and here, it will be noticed, we find also a direct approach to the Netherland methods in the great harmonic opening in full chords, which reminds us of Brumel or Pierre de la Rue; also the treatment of the small point as a means of coming to the close, both here and in the previous example, is in the foreign manner.

A still nearer approach to the methods of the Netherlanders is to be observed in the splendid motett *Audivi media nocte.* It is true that the division of the work into short sections each ending with an important close, which was one of the fundamental old English notions of form, renders the work in its general aspect different from anything to be found abroad; but upon examination it will be seen that each of these sections is

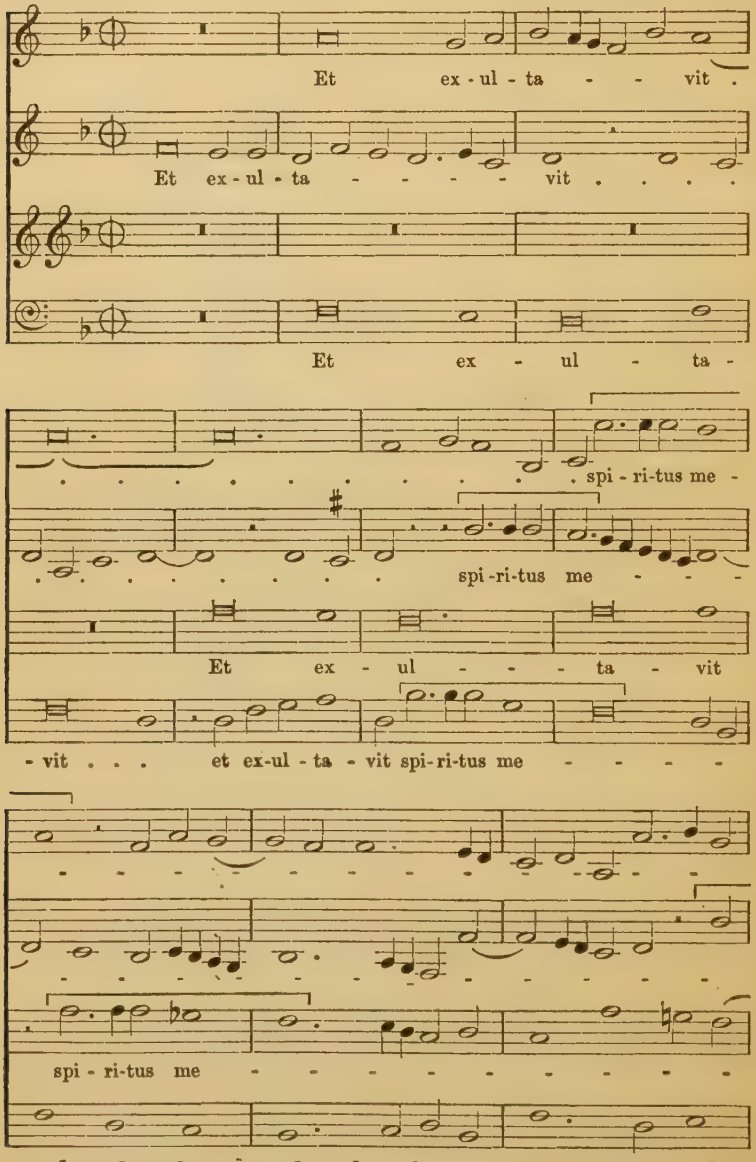
now full of canonic imitation, and in fact consists of little else, while their closes are at last perfectly regular and intelligible. The voices, too, are delivered from the necessity of those progressions to awkward and often unexpected intervals to which they were so often obliged by the old English method, in its aim towards beautiful sound by means of pure counterpoint only; they now proceed therefore smoothly, in conjunct movement chiefly, as in the foreign contemporary compositions. The whole work is full of power and beauty, and must be taken to represent a period not far from that in which the master's technique arrived at its perfection. Among the very few signs of backwardness still to be observed in this fine work, the construction of the final cadence with the descending portion in the lowest place may be mentioned; this method was still often employed abroad for the passing closes in the body of the work, but since about 1485 it had been, as we saw, banished from the end of the composition, to make way for the more powerfully conclusive form in which the lowest voice either rises by a fourth to the final or descends by a fifth to its octave.

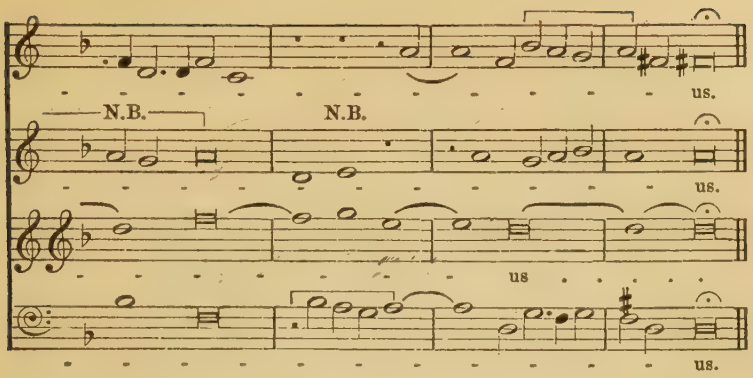
Another magnificent work of this period is the *O bone Iesu*, from the same collection as the *Audivi*. This motett, part of which we give here as an example of the master, is anonymous in the MS., but we may probably unhesitatingly ascribe it to Tallis, not only from its particular style and its general superb excellence, but also from its containing a peculiar treatment of the fourth as part of a passage upon a short pedal of iterated notes, in which a break in the pedal, by a rest, to prepare for the entry of a point in the bass, is not considered as exposing the fourth. These two motetts, which alone would have sufficed to render the name of Tallis illustrious, may certainly stand together with Tye's six-part Mass as representing the finest methods of the pre-Reformation period of English music.

MAGNIFICAT.

(*Opening portion.*)

Brit. Mus., Addl. MSS. 17802–5. Thomas Tallis.



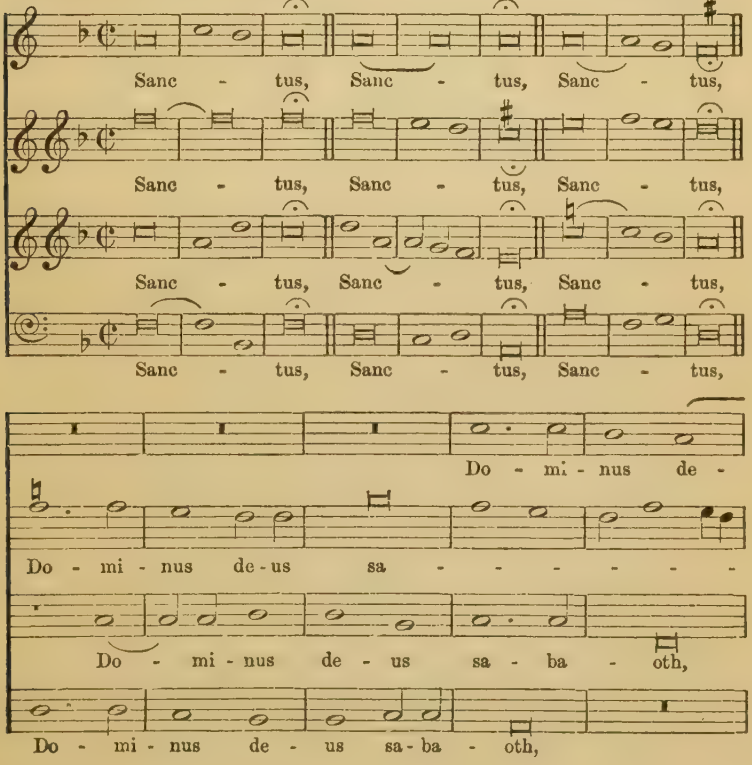


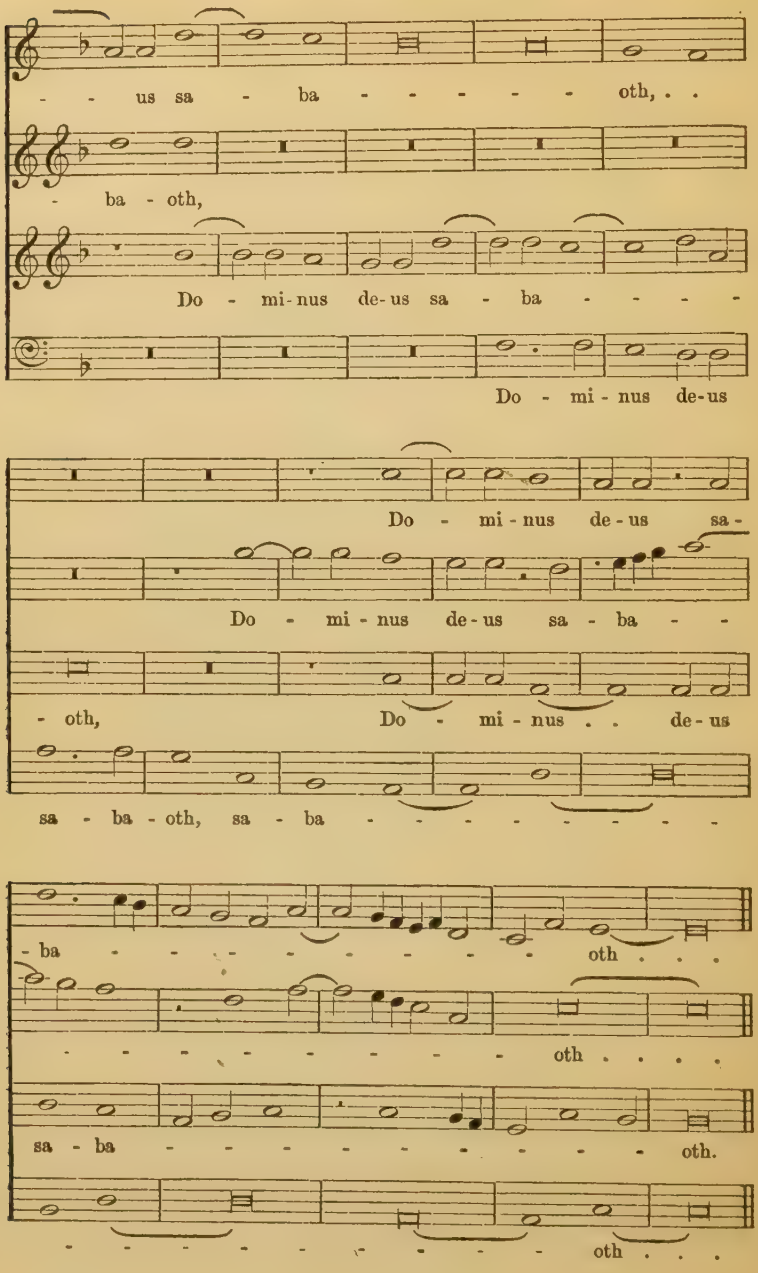
Mass.

(sine nomine.)

SANCTUS.

Brit. Mus., MSS. Addl. 17802-5. Thomas Tallis.

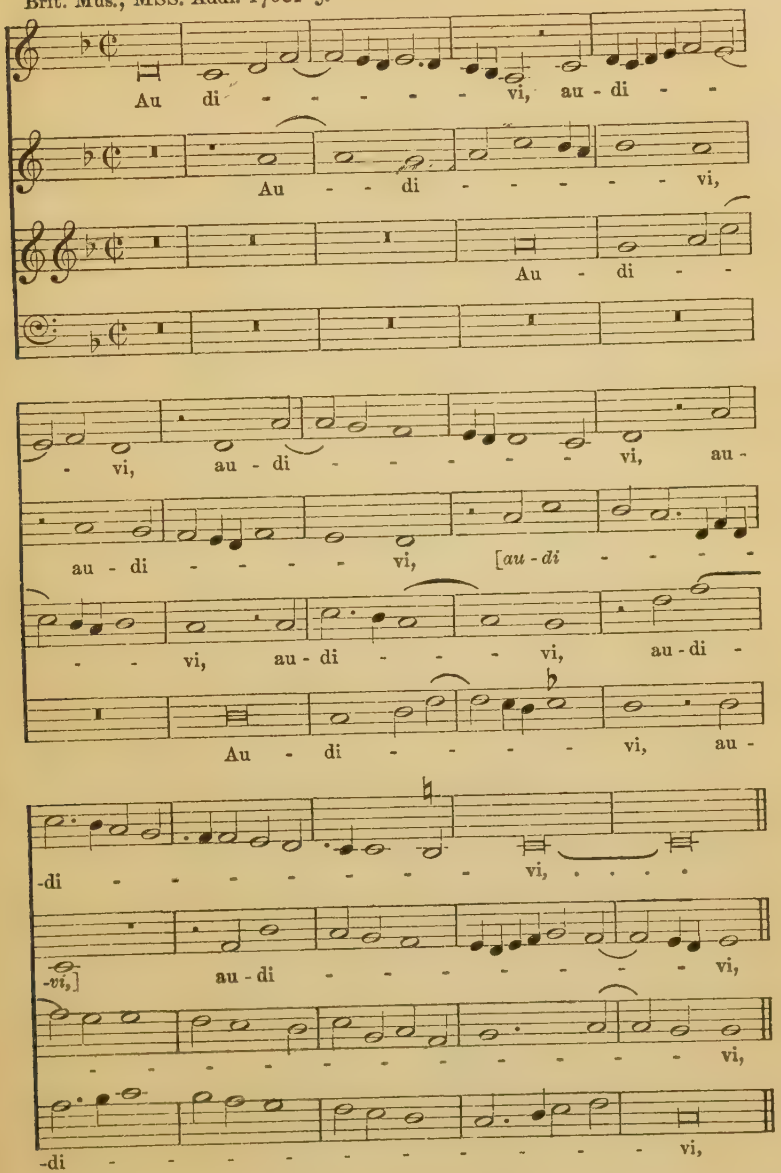

Sanc - tus, Sanc - tus, Sanc - tus,
Sanc - tus, Sanc - tus, Sanc - tus,
Sanc - tus, Sanc - tus, Sanc - tus,
Sanc - tus, Sanc - tus, Sanc - tus,
Do - mi - nus de -
Do - mi - nus de - us sa - - - - - -
Do - mi - nus de - us sa - ba - oth,
Do - mi - nus de - us sa - ba - oth,

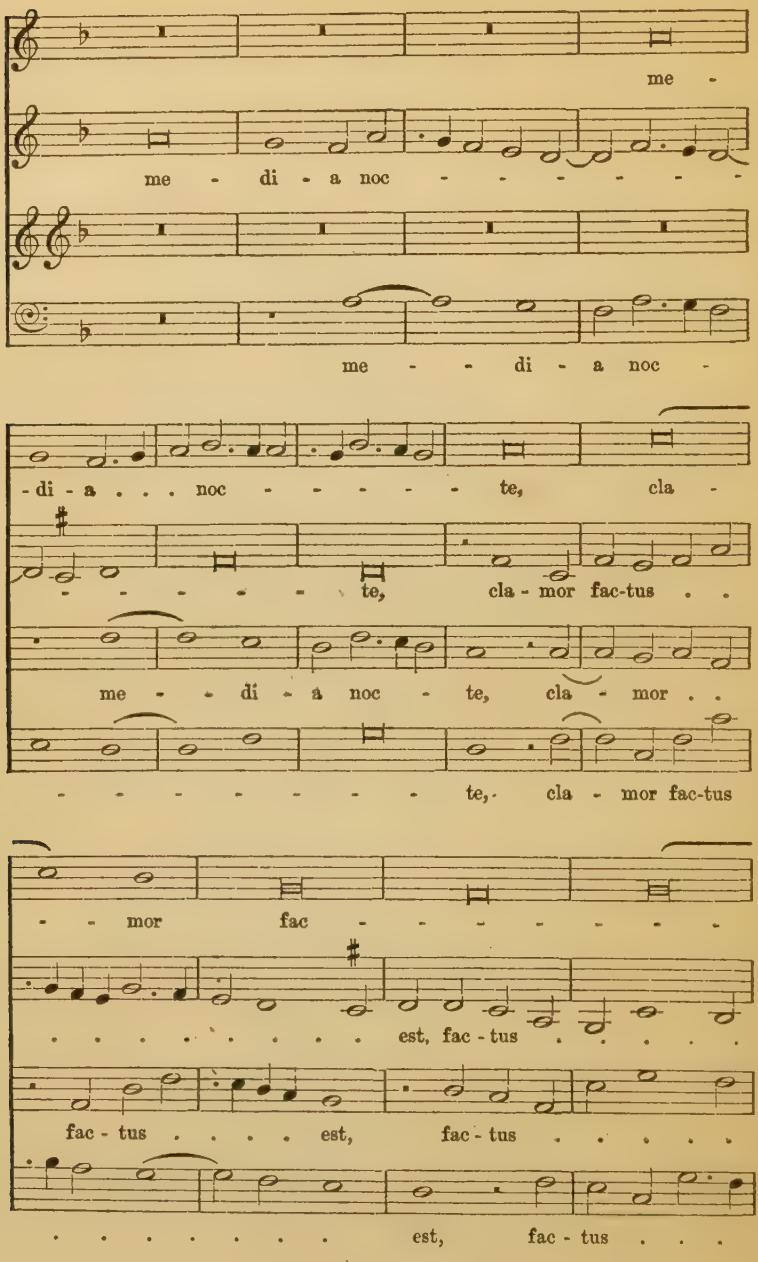

- - us sa - ba - - - - - - oth, . .
- ba - oth,
Do - mi - nus de - us sa - ba - - - - -
Do - mi - nus de - us
Do - mi - nus de - us sa -
Do - mi - nus de - us sa - ba - -
- oth, Do - mi - nus . . de - us
sa - ba - oth, sa - ba - - - - - - - - - -
- ba - - - - - - - - - oth . . .
- - - - - - - - - - oth . . . .
sa - ba - - - - - - - - - - oth.
- - - - - - - - - - oth . . .

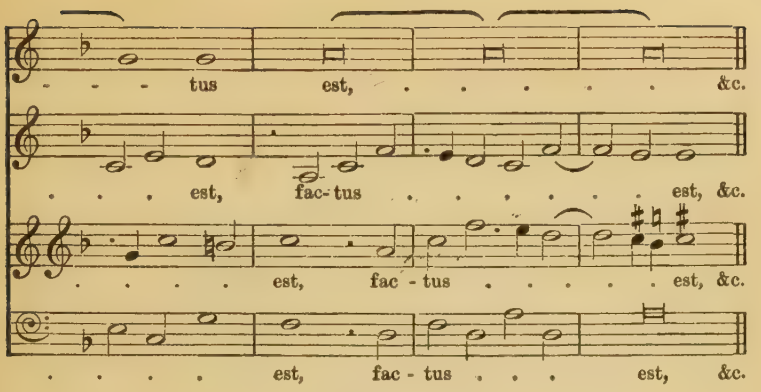
Motett.

AUDIVI MEDIA NOCTE.

Brit. Mus., MSS. Addl. 17802-5. Thomas Tallis.



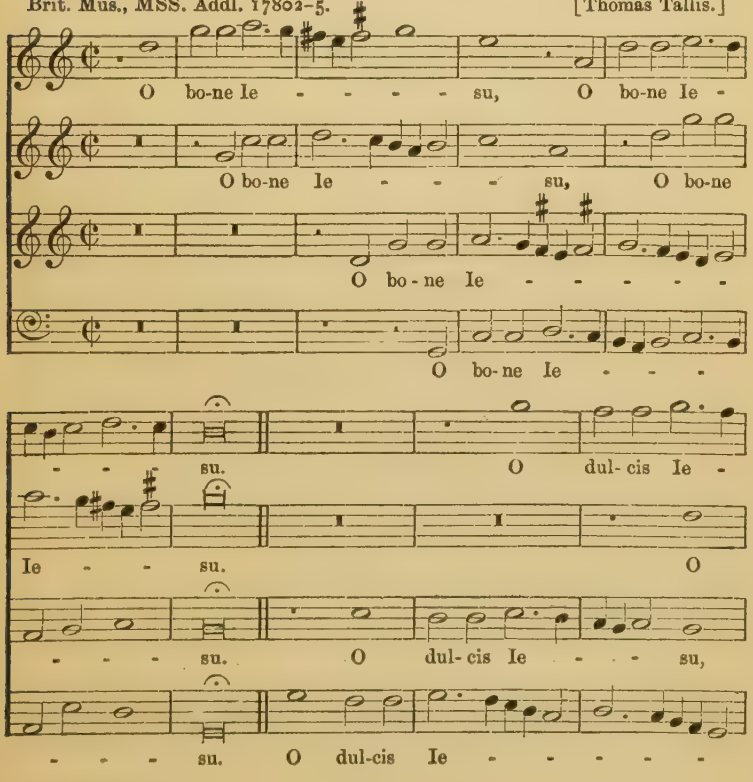

me -
me - di - a noc - - - - - - -
me - - di - a noc -
-di - a . . . noc - - - - - te, cla -
- - - - - - te, cla - mor fac-tus . .
me - - di - a noc - te, cla - mor . .
- - - - - - - - - te, cla - mor fac-tus
- - mor fac - - - - - - - -
. . . . . est, fac - tus . . . . .
fac - tus . . . . est, fac - tus . . . . .
. . . . . est, fac - tus . . .

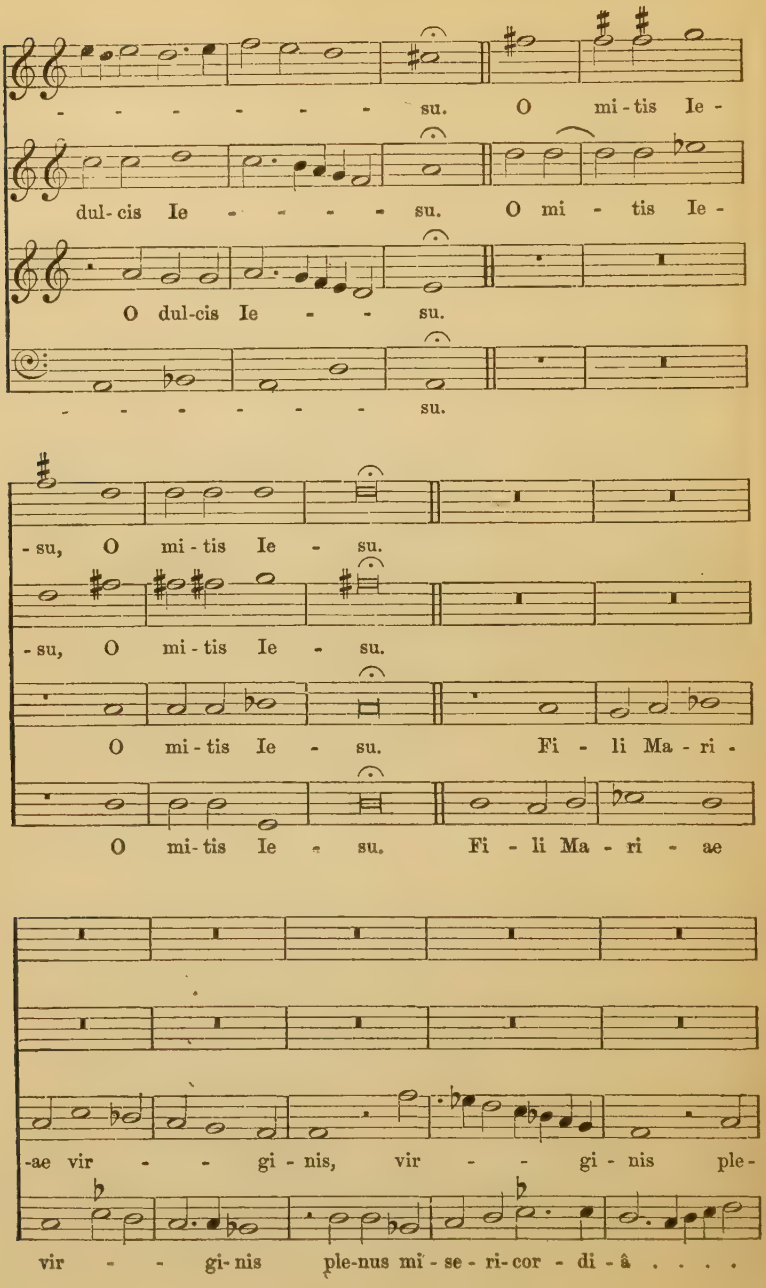


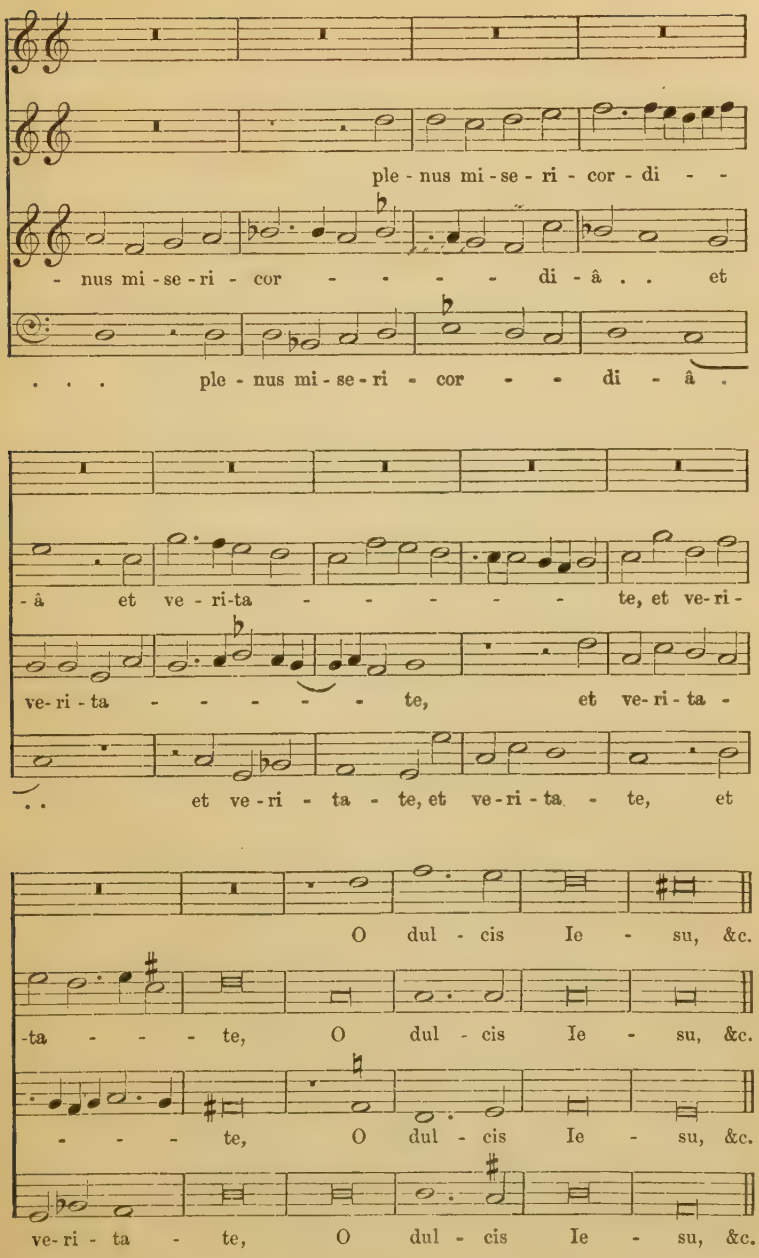
Motett.

O BONE IESU.

Brit. Mus., MSS. Addl. 17802–5. [Thomas Tallis.]




su. O mi-tis Ie-
dul-cis Ie su. O mi - tis Ie-
O dul-cis Ie su.
su.
-su, O mi-tis Ie - su.
-su, O mi-tis Ie - su.
O mi-tis Ie - su. Fi - li Ma - ri -
O mi-tis Ie - su. Fi - li Ma - ri - ae
-ae vir gi - nis, vir gi - nis ple-
vir gi-nis ple-nus mi - se - ri-cor - di - â . . . .


ple - nus mi - se - ri - cor - di - -
- nus mi - se - ri - cor - - - - - di - â . . et
. . . ple - nus mi - se - ri - cor - - di - â .
- â et ve - ri - ta - - - - - - te, et ve - ri -
ve - ri - ta - - - - - - te, et ve - ri - ta -
. . et ve - ri - ta - te, et ve - ri - ta - te, et
O dul - cis Ie - su, &c.
- ta - - - - te, O dul - cis Ie - su, &c.
- - - - te, O dul - cis Ie - su, &c.
ve - ri - ta - te, O dul - cis Ie - su, &c.

It would seem probable that both Tye and Tallis were called to Henry's Chapel about the same time, Tye coming from King's College, Cambridge, about 1537, and Tallis from Waltham Abbey, where he had been organist, at the dissolution of the monastery in 1540. It is supposed, not without good reason, that Tye, who became a fervent Protestant, resigned his post upon the accession of Queen Mary, and it is known that in the second year of Elizabeth's reign he took orders and became a country clergyman, dying eleven years later; Tallis, on the other hand, continued in the Royal Chapel under Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, ending his life in fact in the service of the last-named sovereign, in November, 1585.

The great event, musically speaking, of this period in the history of the English school, was the reformation of public worship. Seldom, probably, has a political occurrence exerted so considerable an influence upon the course of any art, as that which obliged the English composers of the middle of the sixteenth century to abandon the natural development of their material, and deliberately to devise new methods; for as a rule political events, even the most violent—wars, subversions of government, and so on,—though they may convulse society, leave both the springs of art and the actual forces which shape it unaffected. But here, by the alteration of the bases of public worship, the conditions also of sacred music were entirely changed; it was now not only constrained to apply itself to new forms, but was also required to give expression to a new kind of sentiment, corresponding to the outward change from the original language of Christian devotion to the vernacular; and not only were the composers subjected to this necessity of inventing new methods, but they had also to realize the fact that of all that they had hitherto done, nothing was any longer of any use. The complete disappearance from collections, about this time, of many accustomed names, reveals the fact that this blow had seriously affected the school, and indeed nothing but the wonderful inherent vitality of the English music could have

supported it under so great a shock; it responded, however, in some degree to the demands which were made upon it, and in Tye's *Acts of the Apostles*, and in the Dorian Service of Tallis, we may perceive the nature of the first attempts to produce some sort of suitable composition.

The essential feature of the attempt of Tallis is the use of plain counterpoint, in unbroken notes and without points of imitation. The model was probably given as early as the year 1544, in the Litany harmonized according to the directions of Cranmer; for those directions especially enjoin an absolutely plain treatment, note under note, and one syllable to each note. This method was probably suggested in order to meet one of the principal objections urged by the reformers, Catholic and Protestant alike, against the actual condition of ecclesiastical music; an objection based chiefly upon the practical extinction of the sacred text in the passages in running notes and in the overlapping repetitions of phrases, inevitable in florid composition.

Tye's setting of his own metrical versification of a portion of the *Acts of the Apostles* is for the most part in plain counterpoint; but the sternness of the method generally dissolves towards the close of each composition in running notes and short points, the parts coming together at the last in a beautiful florid cadence. None of the numbers, indeed, are quite plain, while some though plain in appearance are really elaborate—one especially, which contains a double canon; and all, whatever the particular character of their treatment may be, are united in the exhibition of a peculiar kind of metrical melody, in a style both popular and jubilant, yet so chastened by the contrapuntal influences as to escape the suggestion either of indecorum or of vulgarity. This kind of melody may perhaps have been suggested to the composer by his own Mass upon *Westron Wynde*; it appears however, in its most decided form, for the first time in his post-Reformation music, and was continued thenceforward in all his compositions,

except of course those of an especially solemn or penitential character.

Neither Tye nor Tallis continued long in the use of plain counterpoint as their chief material in ecclesiastical composition. As regards Tallis, indeed, it would seem that after a short investigation of the possibilities of music under the new conditions, in the course of which he produced his Dorian Service, his Preces, Responses, two Litanies, nine metrical tunes for Archbishop Parker's Psalter, and a few short anthems and canticles, he decided to abstain from further effort in the cause of reformation. He continued, apparently, to perform his duties in the Chapel Royal to the satisfaction of the authorities, but he wrote no more for a service which he probably disliked. Be this, however, as it may, it is the fact that all the great works which he had hitherto produced—his motetts, his elaborate Lamentations, his Masses—had been devoted to the uses of the old religion, and that those also which he still composed, and afterwards published under the name of *Cantiones Sacrae*, were in effect compositions suitable to the different parts of the Roman Service, which could only be sung in Cathedrals when transformed into anthems by translation of the Latin words into English, or by the adaptation of a fresh text.

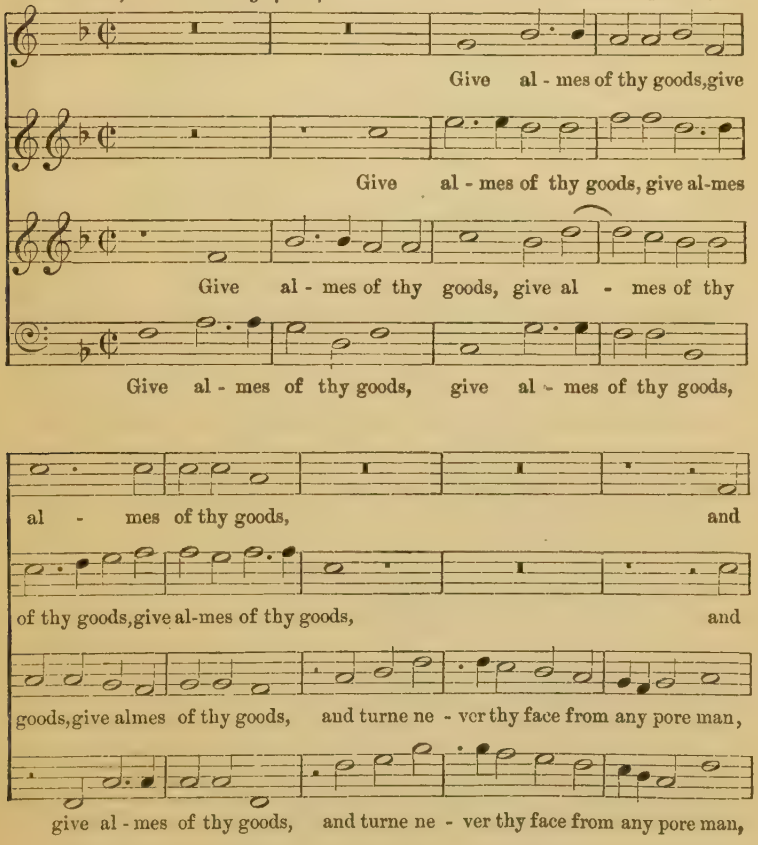
Tye, on the other hand, composed much for the reformed Service; and though he also gave up the practice of composition, apparently altogether, on becoming a clergyman, he was able, before bidding farewell to music, to develop a typical English style of florid contrapuntal melody; constructing, from suggestions apparently derived from his metrical tunes, non-metrical phrases of the most remarkable beauty. This style of melody, however, though worthy to rank in respect of consistency and completeness even with the melodies of the Roman school, was inferior to those wonderful forms in respect of elevation of feeling; for Tye's florid style still partakes of the essential character of his simple tunes, and remains, in all situations, direct, homely, almost popular.

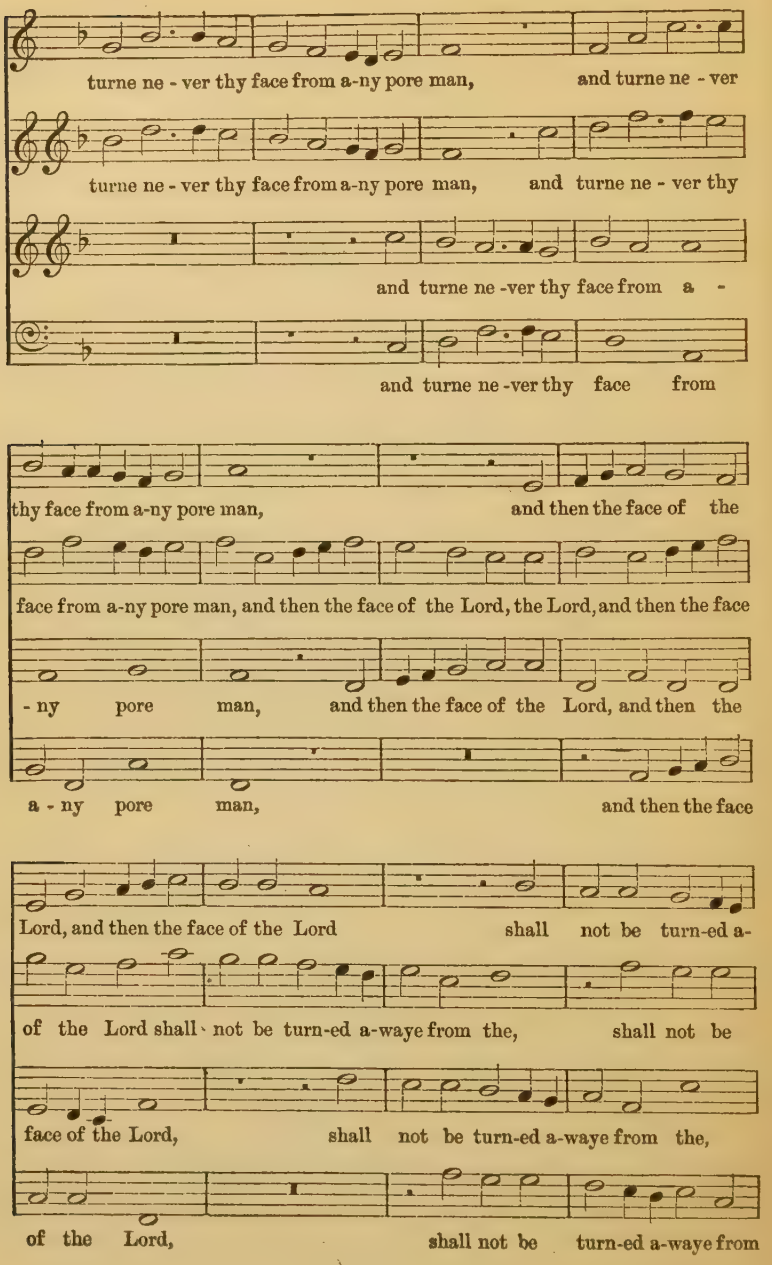
Tye's nearest approach, in free counterpoint, to his metrical style is seen in his smaller and less important compositions, of which the little offertory, *Give almes of thy goods*, affords an excellent example, and is shown here. But it would be unjust to the memory of Tye to pass over his more serious and dignified productions; we give, therefore, the first part of the splendid anthem, *Prayse ye the Lord, ye children*, as a specimen of his finest style of composition for the reformed Service.

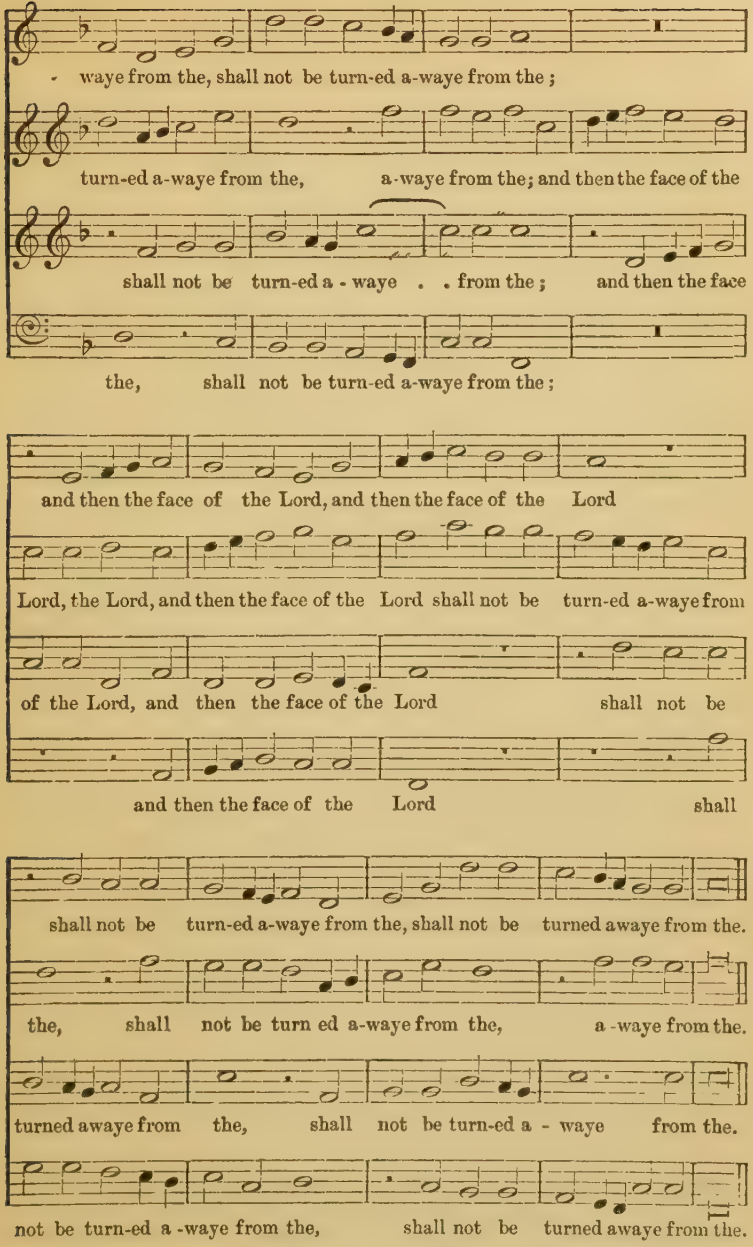
Offertory.

GIVE ALMES.

Brit. Mus., MSS. Addl. 30480–4. Christopher Tye.


Give al - mes of thy goods, give
Give al - mes of thy goods, give al-mes
Give al - mes of thy goods, give al - mes of thy
Give al - mes of thy goods, give al - mes of thy goods,
al - mes of thy goods, and
of thy goods, give al-mes of thy goods, and
goods, give almes of thy goods, and turne ne - ver thy face from any pore man,
give al - mes of thy goods, and turne ne - ver thy face from any pore man,


turne ne - ver thy face from a-ny pore man, and turne ne - ver
turne ne - ver thy face from a-ny pore man, and turne ne - ver thy
and turne ne -ver thy face from a -
and turne ne -ver thy face from
thy face from a-ny pore man, and then the face of the
face from a-ny pore man, and then the face of the Lord, the Lord, and then the face
- ny pore man, and then the face of the Lord, and then the
a - ny pore man, and then the face
Lord, and then the face of the Lord shall not be turn-ed a-
of the Lord shall not be turn-ed a-waye from the, shall not be
face of the Lord, shall not be turn-ed a-waye from the,
of the Lord, shall not be turn-ed a-waye from

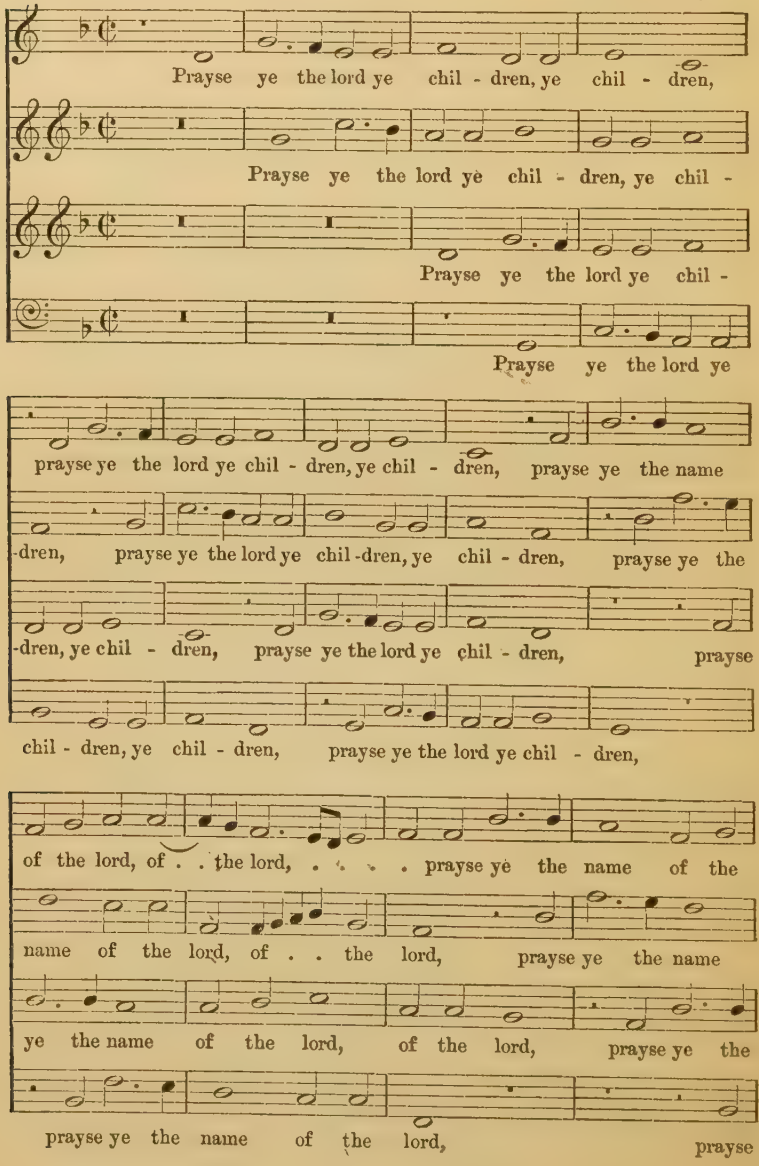

- waye from the, shall not be turn-ed a-waye from the ;
turn-ed a-waye from the, a-waye from the; and then the face of the
shall not be turn-ed a - waye . . from the ; and then the face
the, shall not be turn-ed a-waye from the ;
and then the face of the Lord, and then the face of the Lord
Lord, the Lord, and then the face of the Lord shall not be turn-ed a-waye from
of the Lord, and then the face of the Lord shall not be
and then the face of the Lord shall
shall not be turn-ed a-waye from the, shall not be turned awaye from the.
the, shall not be turn ed a-waye from the, a -waye from the.
turned awaye from the, shall not be turn-ed a - waye from the.
not be turn-ed a -waye from the, shall not be turned awaye from the.

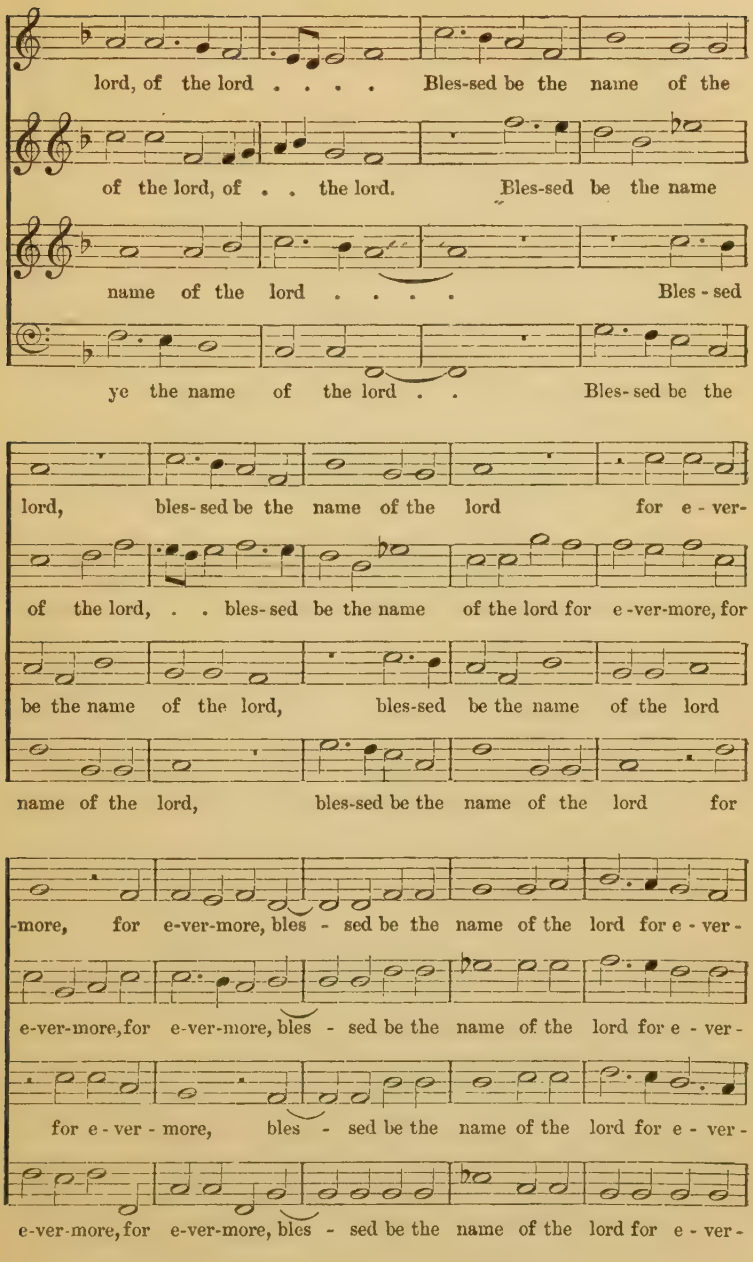
Anthem.

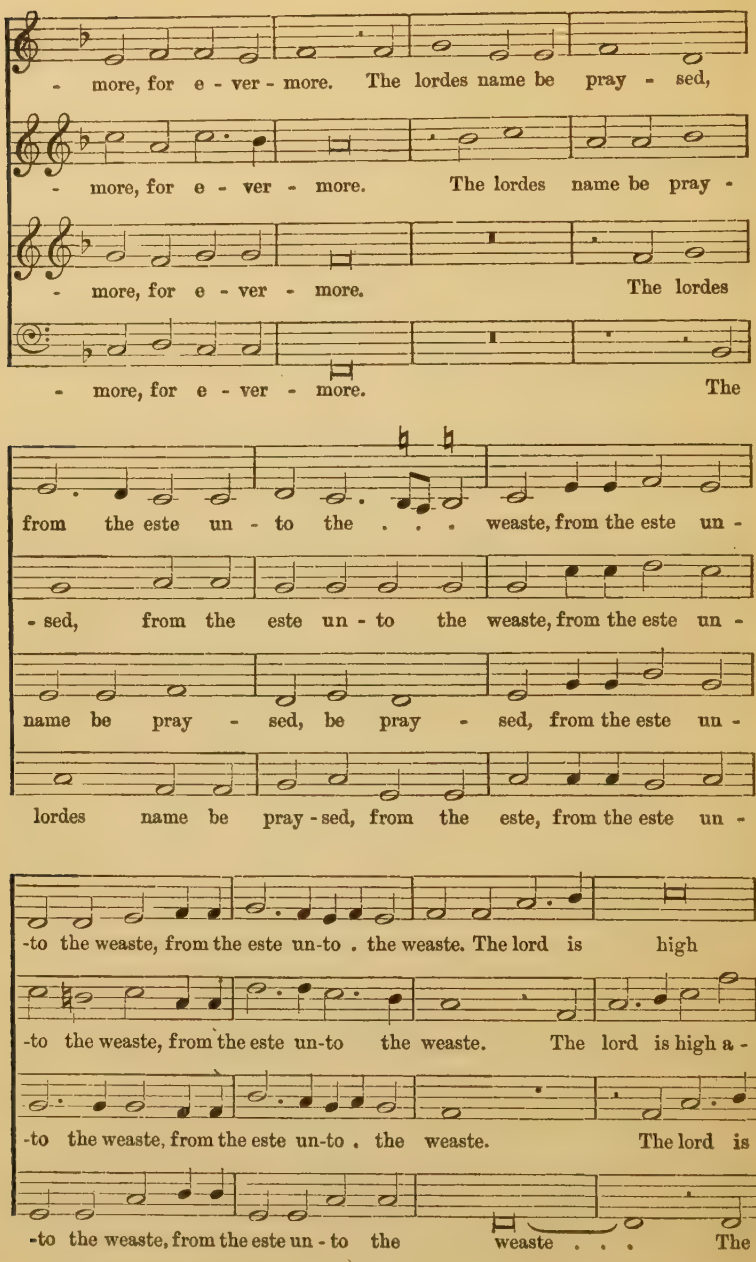
Prayse ye the Lord, ye children.

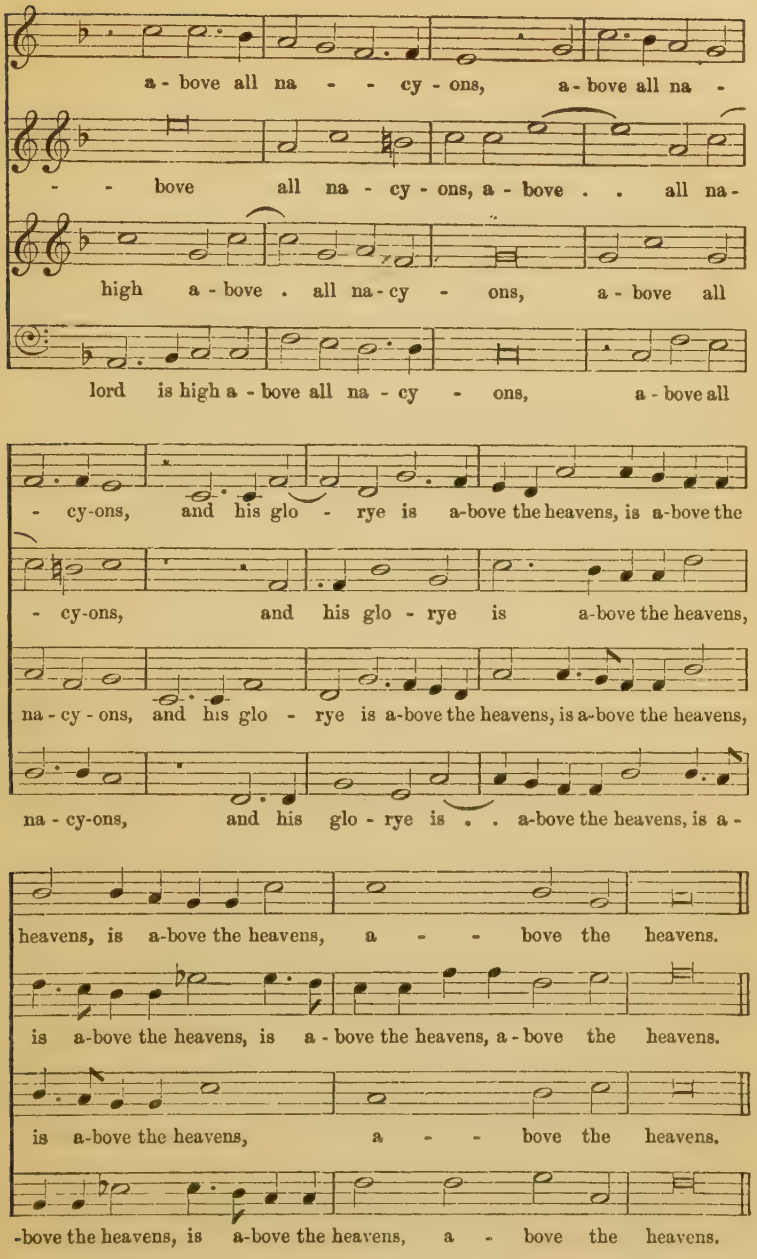
(Opening portion.)

Brit. Mus., MSS. Addl. 30480–4. Christopher Tye.


Prayse ye the lord ye chil - dren, ye chil - dren,
Prayse ye the lord ye chil - dren, ye chil -
Prayse ye the lord ye chil -
Prayse ye the lord ye
prayse ye the lord ye chil - dren, ye chil - dren, prayse ye the name
-dren, prayse ye the lord ye chil - dren, ye chil - dren, prayse ye the
-dren, ye chil - dren, prayse ye the lord ye chil - dren, prayse
chil - dren, ye chil - dren, prayse ye the lord ye chil - dren,
of the lord, of . . the lord, ... prayse ye the name of the
name of the lord, of . . the lord, prayse ye the name
ye the name of the lord, of the lord, prayse ye the
prayse ye the name of the lord, prayse


lord, of the lord . . . . Bles-sed be the name of the
of the lord, of . . the lord. Bles-sed be the name
name of the lord . . . . Bles - sed
ye the name of the lord . . Bles - sed be the
lord, bles - sed be the name of the lord for e - ver-
of the lord, . . bles - sed be the name of the lord for e - ver-more, for
be the name of the lord, bles-sed be the name of the lord
name of the lord, bles-sed be the name of the lord for
-more, for e-ver-more, bles - sed be the name of the lord for e - ver -
e-ver-more, for e-ver-more, bles - sed be the name of the lord for e - ver -
for e - ver - more, bles - sed be the name of the lord for e - ver -
e-ver-more, for e-ver-more, bles - sed be the name of the lord for e - ver -


- more, for e - ver - more. The lordes name be pray - sed,
- more, for e - ver - more. The lordes name be pray -
- more, for e - ver - more. The lordes
- more, for e - ver - more. The
from the este un - to the . . . weaste, from the este un -
- sed, from the este un - to the weaste, from the este un -
name be pray - sed, be pray - sed, from the este un -
lordes name be pray - sed, from the este, from the este un -
-to the weaste, from the este un-to . the weaste. The lord is high
-to the weaste, from the este un-to the weaste. The lord is high a -
-to the weaste, from the este un-to . the weaste. The lord is
-to the weaste, from the este un - to the weaste . . . The


a - bove all na - - cy - ons, a - bove all na -
- - bove all na - cy - ons, a - bove . . all na -
high a - bove . all na - cy - ons, a - bove all
lord is high a - bove all na - cy - ons, a - bove all
- cy-ons, and his glo - rye is a-bove the heavens, is a-bove the
- cy-ons, and his glo - rye is a-bove the heavens,
na - cy - ons, and his glo - rye is a-bove the heavens, is a-bove the heavens,
na - cy-ons, and his glo - rye is . . a-bove the heavens, is a -
heavens, is a-bove the heavens, a - - bove the heavens.
is a-bove the heavens, is a - bove the heavens, a - bove the heavens.
is a-bove the heavens, a - - bove the heavens.
-bove the heavens, is a-bove the heavens, a - bove the heavens.

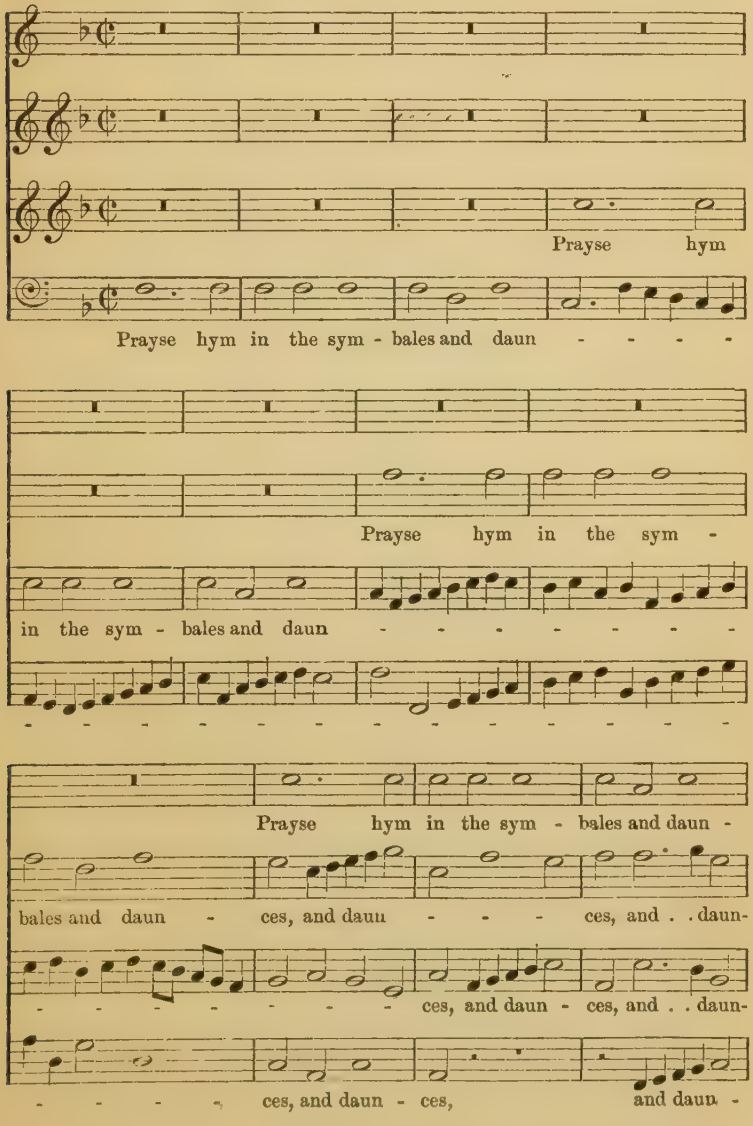
From these fine specimens it will be seen that Tye's later methods, abundantly clear and characteristic, were such as might well have served as the foundation of an English school of composition of the highest class, suitable to the new ecclesiastical conditions. Notwithstanding this, however, no such school arose, and the influence of Tye's brilliant example is only traceable at all distinctly in the works of two or three contemporaries. In the compositions of Thomas Causton, and perhaps also of William Munday, we perceive chiefly the earlier reformed methods of Tye, as they are seen, for instance, in the *Acts of the Apostles*, while in the anthems of Robert Whyte, Tye's pupil and son-in-law, a magnificent style appears, founded evidently upon the later works of the master, in grandeur not at all inferior to that of Tye even in its finest phases, and lacking perhaps only that peculiar kind and quality of beauty which was so marked a characteristic of the work of the elder man. Whyte wrote several anthems, all so admirable that the fact that they form, together with those of Tye, the close, and not the beginning, of a brilliant period, is somewhat difficult to understand. It is of course possible that the anthems of these composers did not after all stand alone; we know very little of the history of Cathedral music during the years immediately following the accession of Elizabeth, and it may be that many noble examples of this greatest English sacred style were composed at this time, and perished later, unrecorded, in the flames of the Ironsides' bonfires. This, however, is not probable, and the apparent sudden cessation of the methods of Tye and Whyte may rather be considered as really due to their early extinction. For a time, indeed, Church music of any kind was unable to maintain itself at all against the hostility of the Calvinistic ministers; and this hostility was perhaps most intense, and least discouraged, during the earlier half of Elizabeth's reign.

Anthem.

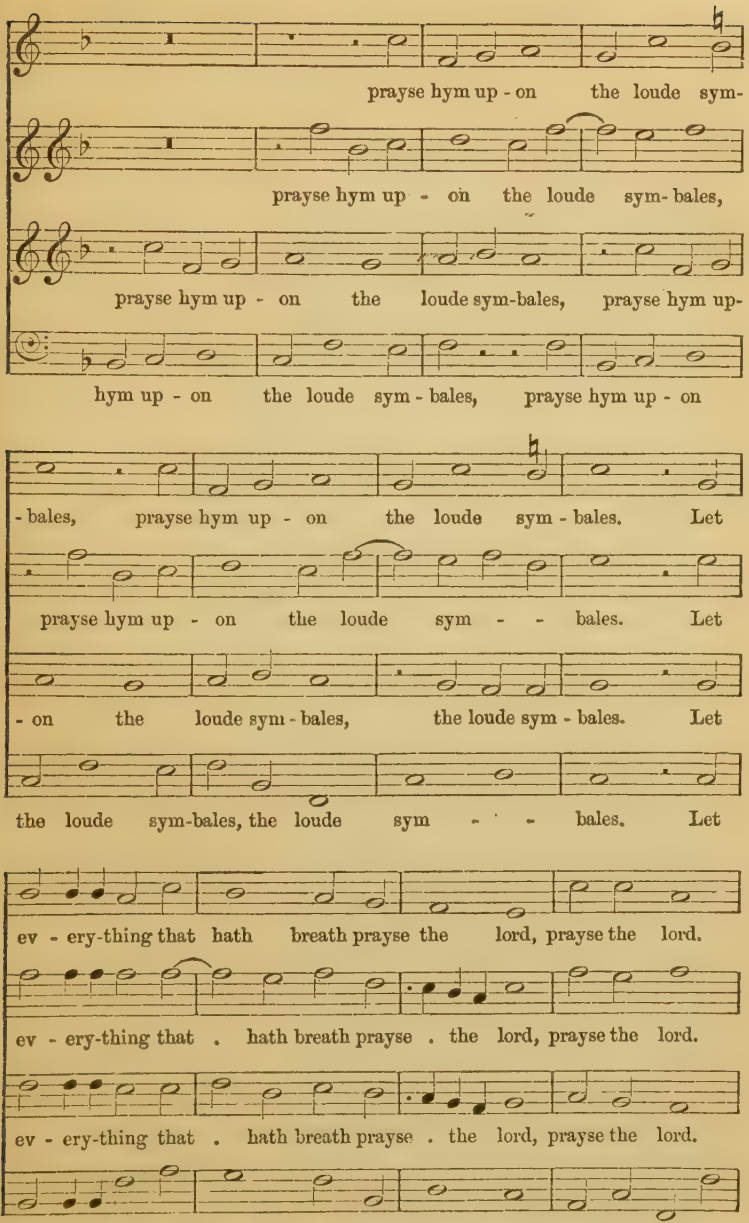
O prayse God in his holiness.

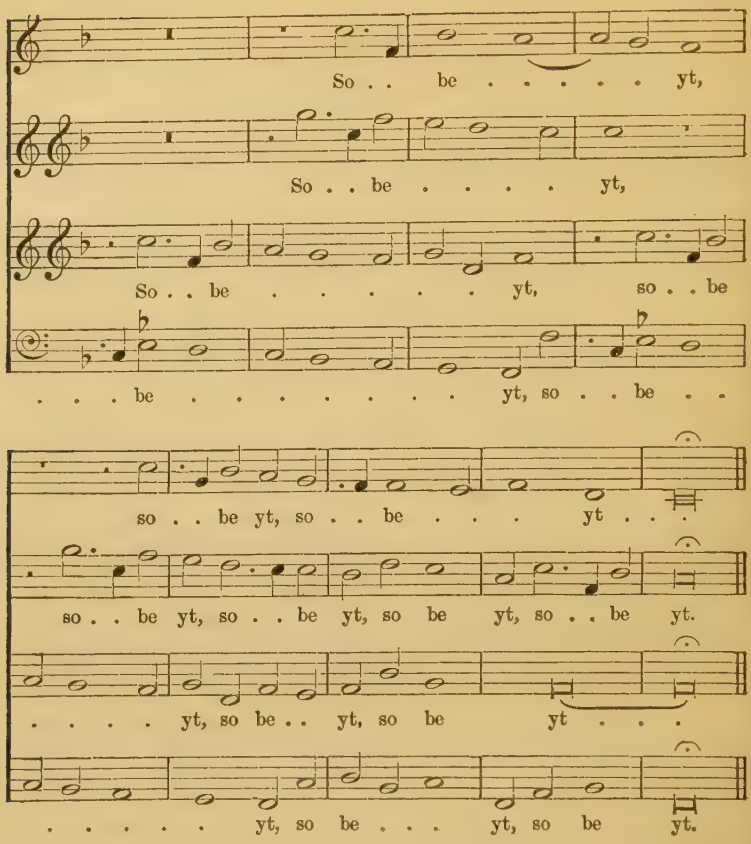
Part ii.

Brit. Mus., MSS. Addl. 30480-4. Robert Whyte.


Prayse hym
Prayse hym in the sym - bales and daun - - - -
Prayse hym in the sym -
in the sym - bales and daun - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
Prayse hym in the sym - bales and daun -
bales and daun - ces, and daun - - - ces, and . . daun-
- - - - - - - ces, and daun - ces, and . . daun-
- - - - ces, and daun - ces, and daun -

- ces: prayse hym up - on the stringes and pype.
- ces: prayse hym up - on the stringes and pype. Prayse hym up-
- ces: prayse hym up - on the stringes and pype.
- ces: prayse hym up - on the stringes and pype. Prayse
Prayse hym up - on the well tu - ned sym - - bales,
- on the well tuned sym-bales, the well tuned sym - bales, prayse
Prayse hym up - on the well tuned sym -
hym up - on the well tu - - ned . . sym - bales,
prayse hym up-on the well tu - ned . . sym - bales,
hym up-on the well tuned sym-bales, the well tu - ned sym - bales,
-bales, prayse hym up - on the well tuned sym - bales,
prayse hym up - on the well tu - - - - ned sym-bales, prayse


prayse hym up - on the loude sym-
prayse hym up - on the loude sym- bales,
prayse hym up - on the loude sym-bales, prayse hym up-
hym up - on the loude sym - bales, prayse hym up - on
- bales, prayse hym up - on the loude sym - bales. Let
prayse hym up - on the loude sym - - bales. Let
- on the loude sym - bales, the loude sym - bales. Let
the loude sym-bales, the loude sym - - bales. Let
ev - ery-thing that hath breath prayse the lord, prayse the lord.
ev - ery-thing that . hath breath prayse . the lord, prayse the lord.
ev - ery-thing that . hath breath prayse . the lord, prayse the lord.
ev - ery-thing that hath breath prayse the lord, prayse the lord. So



It is a curious circumstance that Whyte, like Tallis, wrote much for Latin words, and that the greater part of his remaining work is suitable, like that of Tallis, to the Roman Service—his motetts, for instance, and his lessons from the Lamentations. As regards Tallis, ejected from his office in a great monastery and in some sense compelled to accept Protestantism, the predilection is easily intelligible; but in the case of Whyte, who was born probably about the date of Tallis's ejection, and was still little more than a child in Queen Mary's reign, it is more difficult to explain, since his close connexion with the family of Tye, and his post of organist and master of the boys

at Westminster Abbey, would seem to render the supposition of Romanist proclivities on his part improbable. A strong inclination towards the old religion, however, explains a similar phenomenon in the case of William Byrd, the contemporary of Whyte and member of the Chapel Royal from 1569 onwards under Elizabeth and James, whose works composed for the unreformed Service, long after its suppression, are both numerous and important. Indeed, though he also composed many anthems and canticles for the later English use, these are not equal in merit to his three Masses, his *Gradualia*, his great motetts, published, like those of Tallis, as *Cantiones Sacrae*. It is in these compositions that we perceive the real ground upon which Byrd's fame should rest, though during his life his reputation, which was immense, lay chiefly in his versatility, and especially in his extraordinary skill and power of resource in instrumental composition and performance—qualities of which students of the Fitzwilliam and other Virginal books may gain some idea, but which lie outside the bounds of our present investigation.

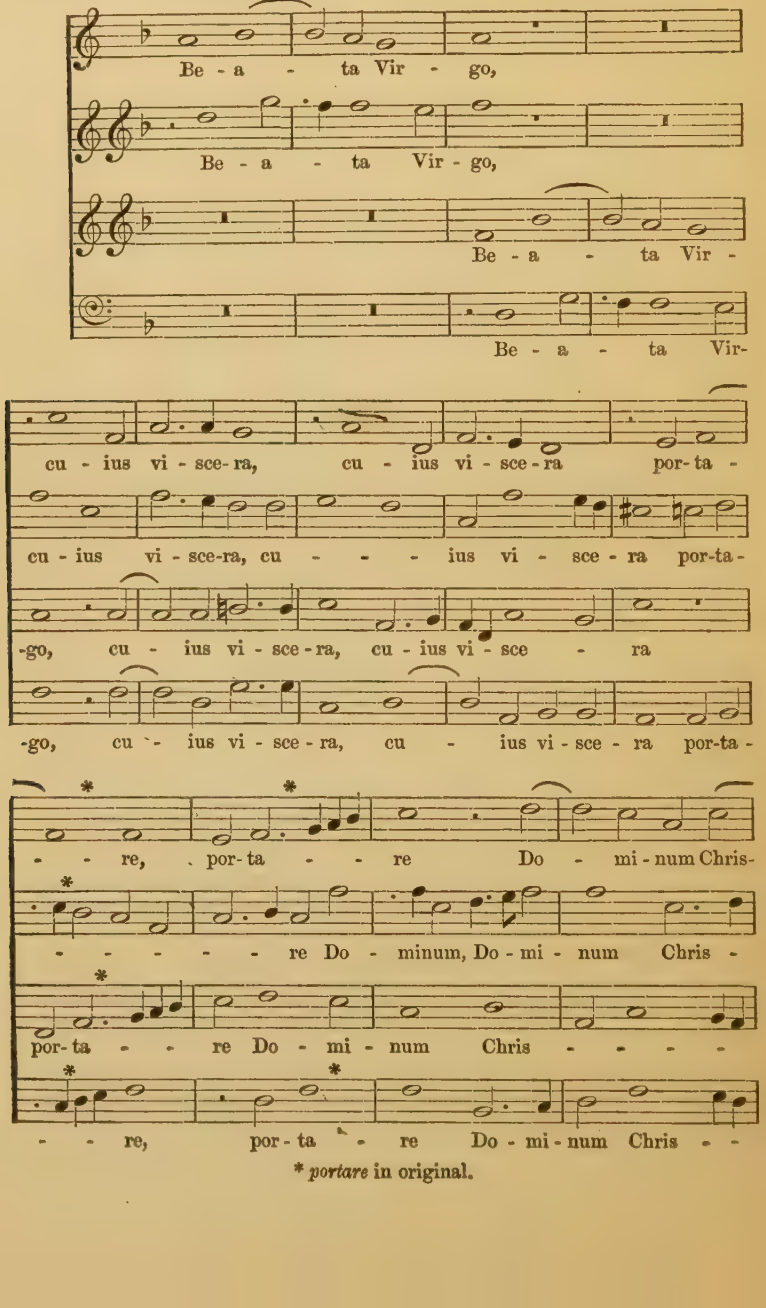
Byrd's vocal music lacks the persistently individual character which strikes us so forcibly in the work of the three composers just discussed, yet it is at the same time independent in style, containing, especially in its later phases, many innovations; and of these perhaps the most remarkable are the simultaneous employment of the flat and sharp seventh of the scale, and the introduction of two chromatic notes at once, as for instance D♯ together with F♯ before a close on E. It is a curious fact that of these two innovations, frequently to be found in the works of Byrd, the former [1] is to be defended, if at all, upon purely melodic and modal grounds, while the second is based entirely upon harmony, and in the case of our suggested example destroys the ecclesiastical mode, and creates a scale of E minor. The confusion which is revealed in these two departures from established principles indicates that the end of the Polyphonic period is approaching.

[1] Byrd was not the inventor of this licence, but he uses it more fully, perhaps, than any other composer.

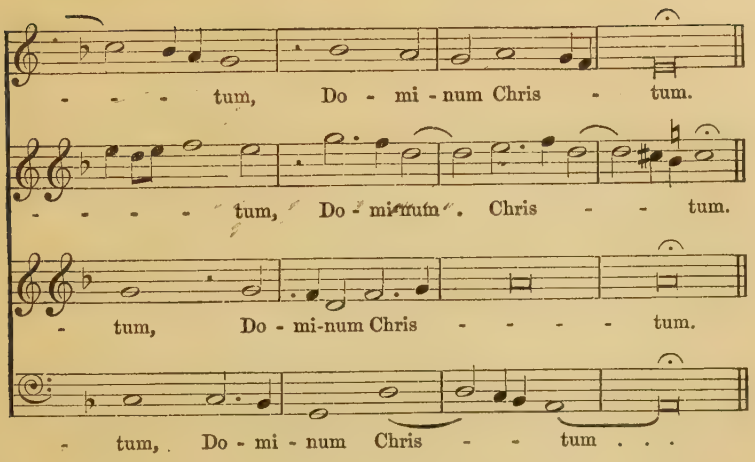
Gradual.

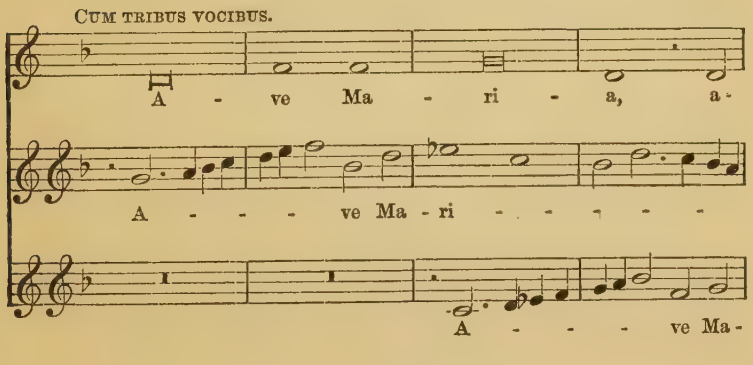
BEATA VIRGO.

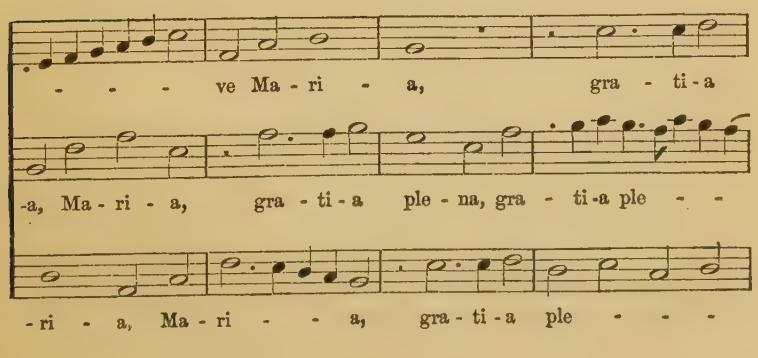
Gradualia, liber secundus, 1607 and 1610. William Byrd.

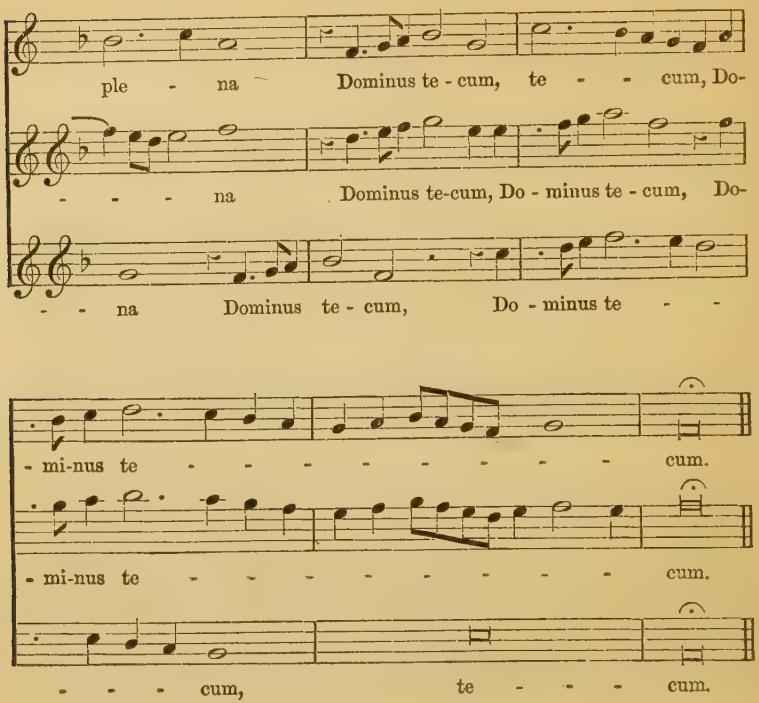

Be - a - ta Vir - go,
Be - a - ta Vir - go,
Be - a - ta Vir -
Be - a - ta Vir-
cu - ius vi - sce-ra, cu - ius vi - sce - ra por-ta -
cu - ius vi - sce-ra, cu - - - ius vi - sce - ra por-ta -
-go, cu - ius vi - sce - ra, cu - ius vi - sce - ra
-go, cu - ius vi - sce - ra, cu - ius vi - sce - ra por-ta -
- - re, por-ta - - re Do - mi - num Chris -
- - - - - re Do - minum, Do - mi - num Chris -
por-ta - - re Do - mi - num Chris - - - -
- - re, por - ta - re Do - mi - num Chris - -

* *portare* in original.


- - - - tum, Do - mi - num Chris - tum.
- - - - - tum, Do - mi-num Chris - - tum.
- tum, Do - mi-num Chris - - - - - tum.
- tum, Do - mi - num Chris - - tum . . .


CUM TRIBUS VOCIBUS.
A - ve Ma - ri - a, a -
A - - - - ve Ma - ri - - - - - -
A - - - - ve Ma -


- - - - ve Ma - ri - a, gra - ti - a
-a, Ma - ri - a, gra - ti - a ple - na, gra - ti - a ple - -
-ri - a, Ma - ri - - a, gra - ti - a ple - - - -


ple - na Dominus te - cum, te - - cum, Do-
- - - na Dominus te-cum, Do - minus te - cum, Do-
- - na Dominus te - cum, Do - minus te - -
- mi-nus te - - - - - - - - - cum.
- mi-nus te - - - - - - - - - cum.
- - - cum, te - - - cum.

Beata Virgo *ut supra.*

CHAPTER V

THE PERFECTION OF THE METHOD

We have now traced, as well as we were able, the development of the polyphonic principle, the principle of absolute equality between the individual and the collective elements of the composition; and beginning with the old parallel *organum*, and passing thence to the juxtaposed metrical forms of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and again from the later *faulx bourdon* onward to the relatively perfect counterpoint which became general about the year 1550, we have followed the rise and growth of independence in the conduct of separate melodies, and have noted the various degrees of mutual regard which were perceived as necessary to be observed in their simultaneous employment. We are now therefore to consider finally the perfection of the constructive method, and the union of all schools in an entire agreement with respect to the forms in which this perfection is made manifest. And first we may notice the completion of the Netherland tradition.

Lassus.

While the offshoots of the Flemish stock, the schools established in Venice, in Poland, and in Spain, were pursuing their various courses and demonstrating both the solidity and the adaptability of the Netherland tradition, the original school itself was receiving its final important illustration in the work of its latest representative member, Roland Delattre, more commonly known as Orlandus Lassus. Lassus, a pure Netherlander, was born in the town of Mons, about 1520, and was admitted as a chorister in the church of Saint Nicholas in

that place at the age of eight years or soon after; he was thus brought up in the midst of the music of his native school at the period of its greatest general excellence, that is to say, while the influence of Gombert and Clément was still paramount. He was taken while yet a child to Italy, where the greater part of his youth was also spent; it is even supposed that he made a stay of ten or twelve years in Rome, and that during nearly the whole of that period he occupied the post of director of the choir at St. John Lateran. Thus he would also have become closely acquainted with all that was being done in music at that time in Italy, and especially with the work of the rising Roman school; he may even, like Goudimel, have contributed somewhat to the formation of that school, though his influence is not as yet traceable; indeed, whether he composed any music at all for the choir of the Lateran basilica, or whether on the other hand he was content merely to fulfil his duties as director, is not known. His earliest existing publication is a book of madrigals, written in the advanced style of Cipriano da Rore, and published in Venice, in which he appears as the follower of Willaert, Verdelot, Archadelt, Waelrant, and other Flemish madrigal writers of the best class. Indeed, so great apparently was his delight in secular music that from 1555, when his first book appeared, until 1563, when he brought out a collection consisting entirely of sacred music, every work that he published was either purely secular or of a mixed character; from this time forward, however, Lassus, having been appointed Maestro di Cappella to Duke Albert of Bavaria, composed chiefly sacred music for the Munich choir.

The praise, sometimes quite exaggerated, which has been bestowed upon the ecclesiastical compositions of Lassus, is no doubt due, at least in part, to a certain impressiveness of effect which they display, and to the author's excellent use of the harmonic material bequeathed to him by his predecessors. For although the melodic constituents of polyphony were em-

phasized and cultivated to a certain extent, and insisted upon at some periods more than at others by the Flemish writers, yet the harmonic aspect of the vocal conjunctions was upon the whole that which is most apparent in the work of the school, and chiefly suggested in the special efforts in which its members were upon the whole most successful. If Lassus therefore in his mature and most characteristic works is deficient in melodic beauty, if his voice parts seem not to spring complete from the imagination of the composer and to flow thence in parallel streams, but rather to have been put together with a view to create an harmonic effect, he is indeed not for this reason less the representative of the school as a whole, or less worthy of admiration for the grandeur and pathos of works in which this particular deficiency also appears.

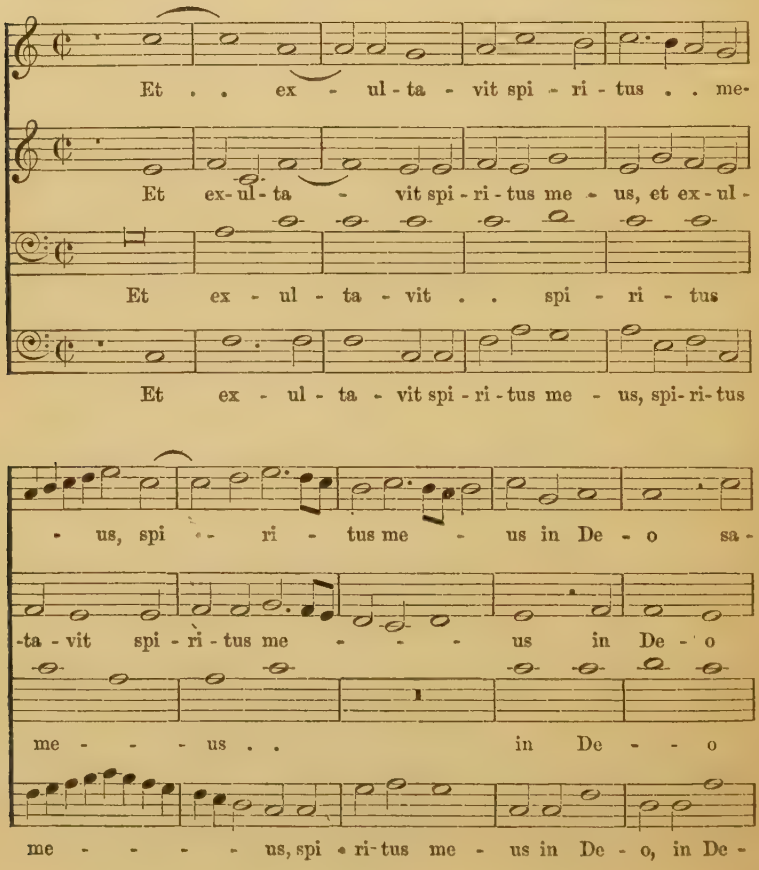
Lassus, like all the great exponents of a closing art, supported by a vast body of production and called by circumstances to complete it, was a most prolific composer. Indeed, employed as he was by a sovereign whose love of music was intense and whose admiration for the master himself was unbounded, the succession of his works could hardly have been otherwise than continuous; and in fact this stimulus, which in some form or other is seldom wanting in the lives of the greater artists, brought forth, in the case of Lassus, a volume of composition larger than that which can be ascribed to any other musician. His greatest work, probably, is the famous setting of the seven penitential psalms, composed in 1565—two years later than the reformed Masses of Palestrina—and remarkable for its expressive qualities. In this fine work Lassus displays not only the science of the school, but his own personal feeling also, and in a degree perhaps greater than in any other of his works. It is with reluctance, therefore, that we pass from this composition without an illustration, but its particular merit could not be exhibited in a short extract. We may, however, give part of a *Magnificat* as a fair example of his workmanship, and from this it will probably be seen that although inferior in

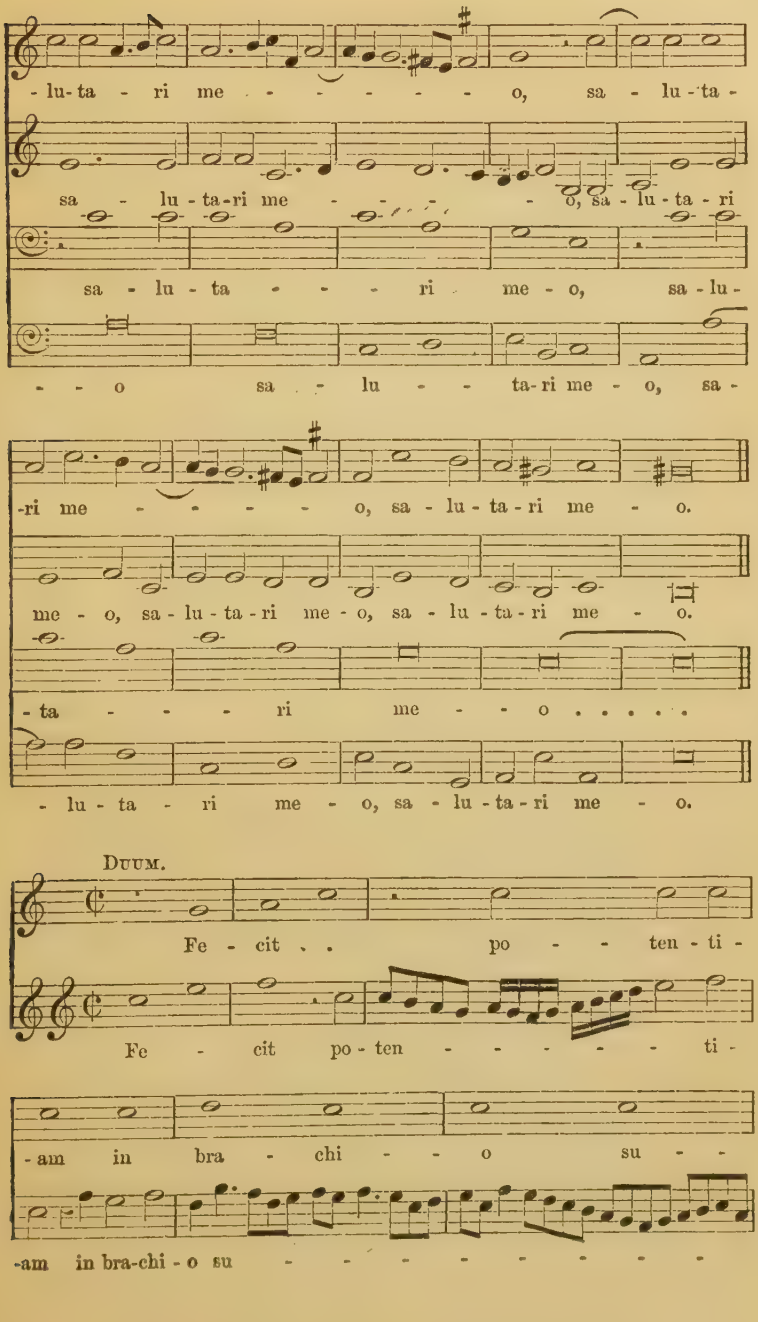
some respects (in melodic beauty, for instance) to some of his immediate predecessors—to Gombert and Clément, for example,—he nevertheless heads the school and sums it up by virtue of his presentation of the general Flemish methods in a form more nearly perfect than hitherto, and that he also brings it to a point which, considering its nature and its inherited character, is evidently its extreme limit.

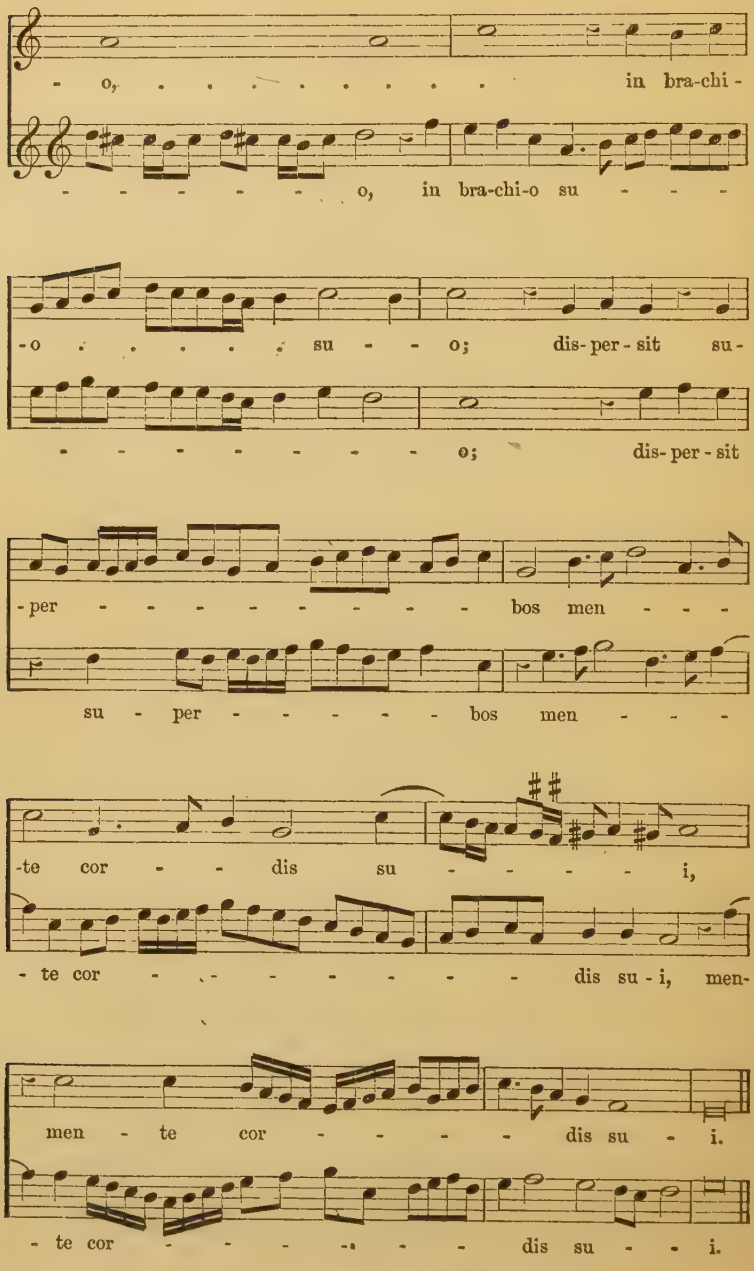
MAGNIFICAT.

Tone iii.

From Commer. Orlandus Lassus.


Et . . ex - ul - ta - vit spi - ri - tus . . me-
Et ex-ul - ta - vit spi - ri - tus me - us, et ex - ul -
Et ex - ul - ta - vit . . spi - ri - tus
Et ex - ul - ta - vit spi - ri - tus me - us, spi - ri - tus
- us, spi - ri - tus me - us in De - o sa -
-ta - vit spi - ri - tus me - - - us in De - o
me - - - us . . in De - - o
me - - - - us, spi - ri - tus me - us in De - o, in De -


-lu-ta - ri me - - - - - - o, sa - lu -ta -
sa - lu - ta-ri me - - - - - o, sa - lu - ta - ri
sa - lu - ta - - - - ri me - o, sa - lu -
- - o sa - lu - - - ta-ri me - o, sa -
-ri me - - - - - o, sa - lu - ta - ri me - o.
me - o, sa - lu - ta - ri me - o, sa - lu - ta - ri me - o.
- ta - - - - ri me - - o . . . . .
- lu - ta - ri me - o, sa - lu - ta - ri me - o.
Duum.
Fe - cit . . po - - - ten - ti -
Fe - cit po - ten - - - - - - - ti -
-am in bra - chi - - - o su - -
-am in bra-chi - o su - - - - - - - - - -


- o, ... in bra-chi-
- - - - - - o, in bra-chi-o su - - -
-o . . . . . su - - o; dis-per-sit su-
- - - - - - - - - o; dis-per-sit
-per - - - - - - - - - bos men - - -
su - per - - - - - - bos men - - -
-te cor - - dis su - - - - - i,
- te cor - - - - - - - - dis su - i, men-
men - te cor - - - - - dis su - i.
- te cor - - - - - - - dis su - - i.

Wilbye.

We have seen that the natural development of the original English ecclesiastical school of composition was forcibly arrested at the Reformation, and the school itself broken up, and it has also appeared as probable that the work of the second or Protestant school of sacred music, which might have redeemed the loss of the first, was so effectually obstructed by the Genevan ministers during the early part of Elizabeth's reign, that notwithstanding the splendid individual efforts of Tye and Whyte it failed—like the corresponding school in Germany—to arrive at its logical culmination. The highest class of English music, therefore, was thus debarred from taking part in that complete perfecting of methods, and general agreement with respect to details of all kinds, which is visible in the technique of the more important continental schools about the year 1570. It would seem, however, that towards the close of the century, the force of the adverse influences having diminished apparently in a considerable degree, the work of composition was again taken up systematically; for the canticles and anthems—especially the remarkable verse anthems—of Byrd, Morley, and other Elizabethan writers, which are to be found in Barnard's *Church Music* for instance, point to a considerable revival of energy. But the authors of this movement were too late to share in the great work of perfection; the moment of real culmination in sacred music was now past, and the settled and classic forms employed in the new works were not so much developed by a school as adopted by individuals from the continental writers. The same may be said of the fine compositions of Orlando Gibbons. This author wrote consistently and consciously in the finally settled style; but his was a personal attempt, undertaken long after the date of the first general agreement, and falls, even, in point of time, outside the scope of our inquiry. Yet a period of development, in which the full energy of English musicians might be exerted in a common effort, a period of

development resembling that which had already brought the foreign schools to a relative perfection, was not after all wanting in this country; and the opportunity of technical culmination having been twice lost in the production of music for the church, it was in the composition of secular music that the English redeemed it.

We can have no doubt that from the earliest times secular composition had flourished in this country, and that it was often undertaken by the greatest composers, who willingly adapted their learned methods to its lighter necessities. This was especially evident, for instance, in the beginning of the sixteenth century in the work of Cornysch, who, although himself one of the chiefs of the old elaborately contrapuntal school of ecclesiastical music, produced also a large number of plain compositions, chiefly in three parts, note under note, as settings of secular and frequently humorous words. This form, with the addition of a fourth voice part, and of simple points of imitation at the beginning of the song, constituted the pattern of secular music in this country until about 1580. Tye contributed apparently one of the most beautiful examples of this style—for the composition of *In going to my naked bed* may probably be ascribed to him—Tallis wrote much in it, and was followed by Whythorne, and later by Douland and others. In short, it may be said that the old English Song, considered as an artistic form, was the means of enriching music with a number of examples unmatched, either in technique or in pure beauty, in the secular composition of any other country. We say a number of examples, for this description is in fact most suitable to their character, since they represent chiefly the work of the lighter moments of their composers, and were not undertaken either as their main business or as the subject of a united effort for the purpose of developing a still unexhausted vein of the material to its utmost limits. This effort, however, was to come, and it was in the systematic development of the lighter kind of English music, in the form of the Madrigal, that the composers of this country

were to establish a standard of absolute perfection in their native methods.

The English had been steady for awhile under Fayrfax in maintaining their original methods of sacred composition, notwithstanding their presumable acquaintance with Flemish principles, and for awhile also they preserved, during the early madrigalian development in Italy, their current style of secular music in its unadorned simplicity; but just as the spectacle of the logical unfolding of Flemish methods proved irresistible in the one case, so did the influence of the Italian beauty in the other, and the publications of *Musica Transalpina* in 1588 and 1597, and the collections of Watson and Morley in 1590 and 1598, marked the beginning of a new era of secular composition. The opportunity of forming a native school having once more presented itself in the possible union of the old English direct simplicity and charm with the new foreign elegance of form and expression, at once all the floating elements of a suitable technique already in existence in this country fell naturally into their places beside the exotic methods, and finally crystallized in the form whose highest manifestation is seen in the *Triumphs of Oriana*.

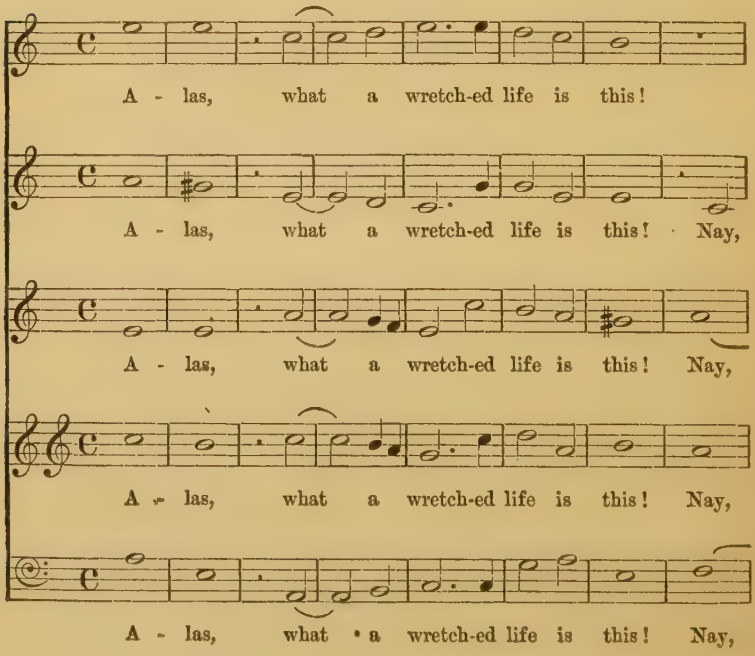
The twenty-three composers whose names are recorded in this collection not only represent the perfection of English musical style, but also undoubtedly exhibit all the characteristics of a true school. In their enthusiasm, their similarity of method denoting the common endeavour, their fertility of imagination and wealth of production—for some of them, Weelkes for instance, Morley, Kirbye, Benet, Bateson, published largely in volumes of their own,—in all these particulars we perceive indications of the work of men banded together in the pursuit of a common artistic aim, and engaged in developing the beauty contained in a rich and untried combination of materials.

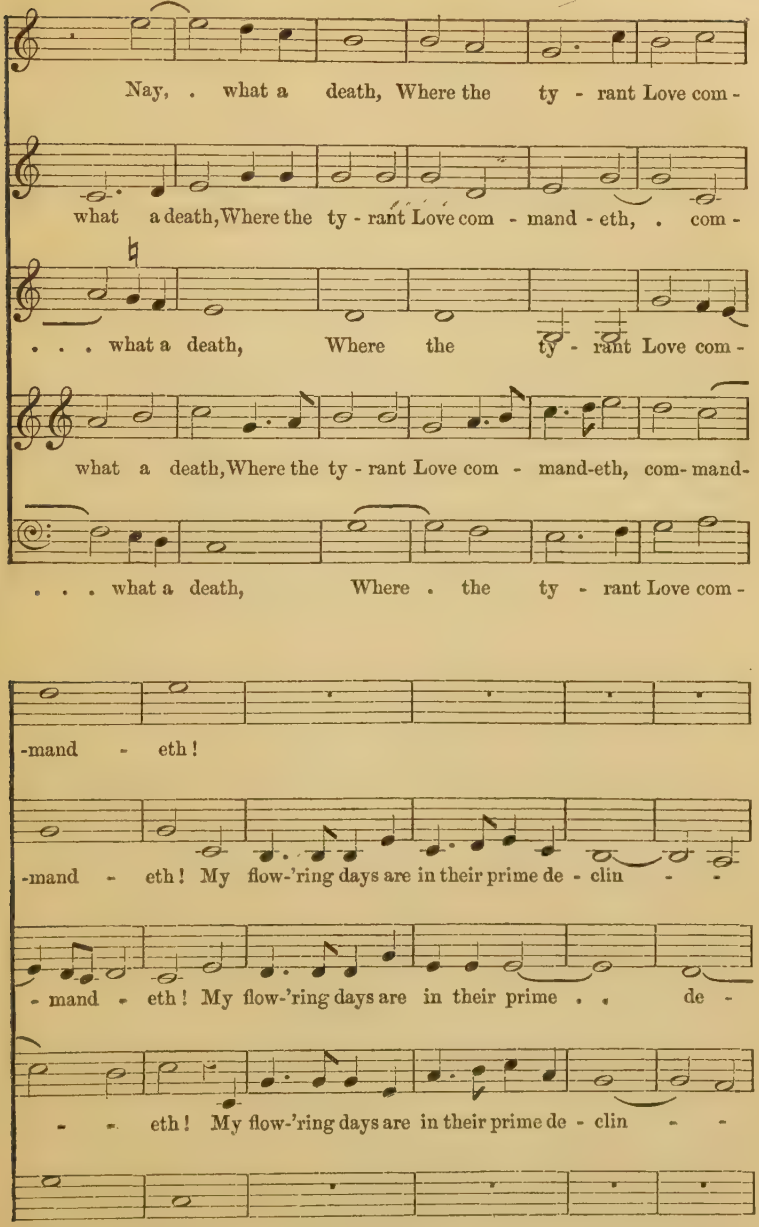
The characteristics of the school are well exhibited in the work of John Wilbye, who from his participation in most of the general varieties of treatment commonly attempted, and his superiority in all, may be considered, at all events by us, as its

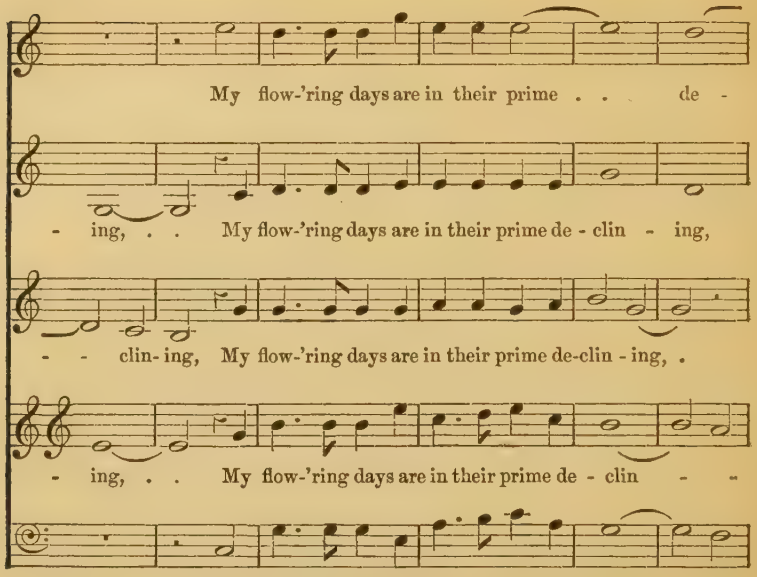
leader. It will be evident, from the specimen of his music which is here given, that in his rendering both of the external form of the Madrigal, in which its original Italian shape is admirably preserved, and also of its substance, which is as truly English in feeling as anything that had been written previously in this country, his work leaves nothing whatever to be desired; and we may be well content, even without comparative examples (which the limits of our space forbid), to believe that he stands appropriately for the English school, and worthily represents the perfection, both of freedom and beauty, which marks the climax and latest blossoming of our native music.

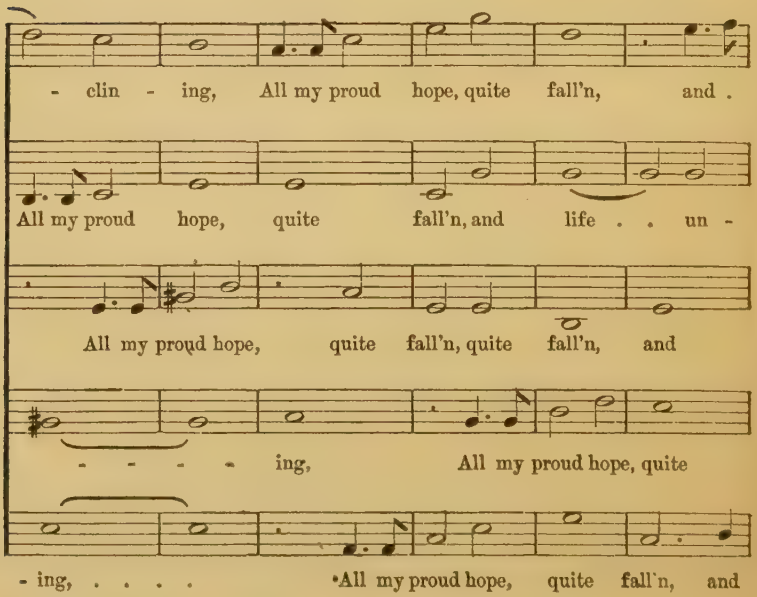
Madrigal for five voices.

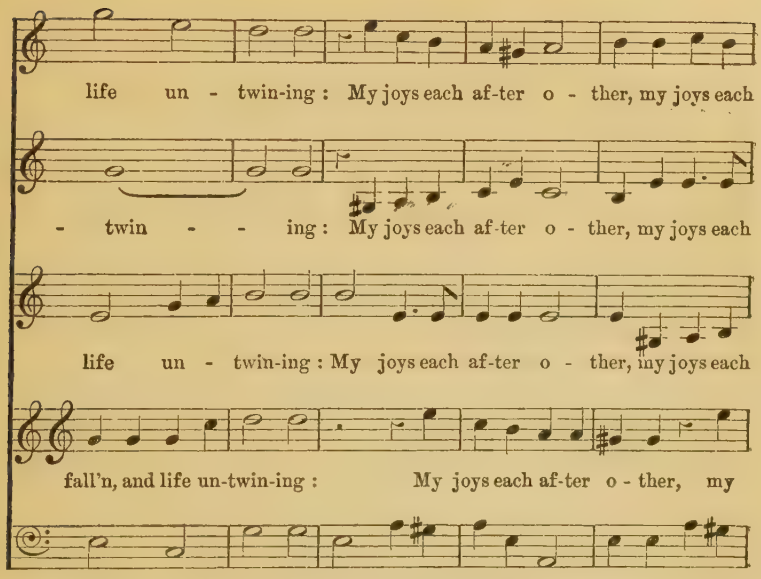
The first set of English madrigals to
3, 4, 5 and 6 voices. Newly composed by
John Wilbye. London : T. Este, 1598. John Wilbye.

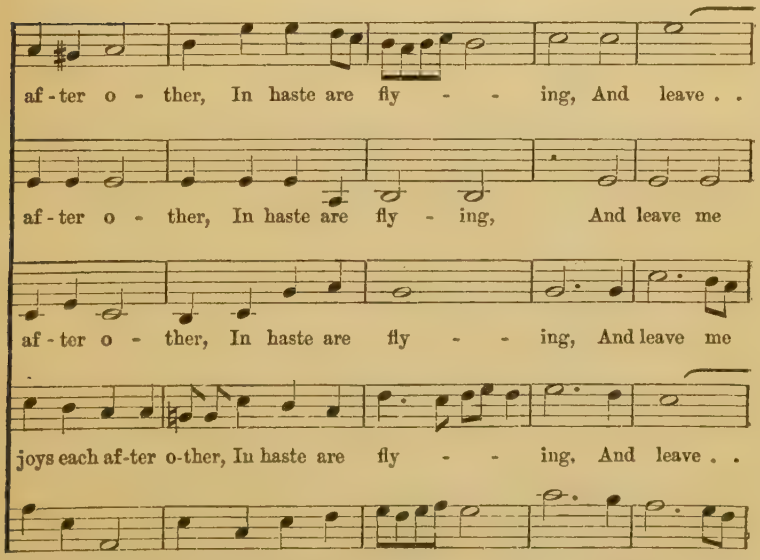

A - las, what a wretch-ed life is this!
A - las, what a wretch-ed life is this! Nay,
A - las, what a wretch-ed life is this! Nay,
A - las, what a wretch-ed life is this! Nay,
A - las, what a wretch-ed life is this! Nay,

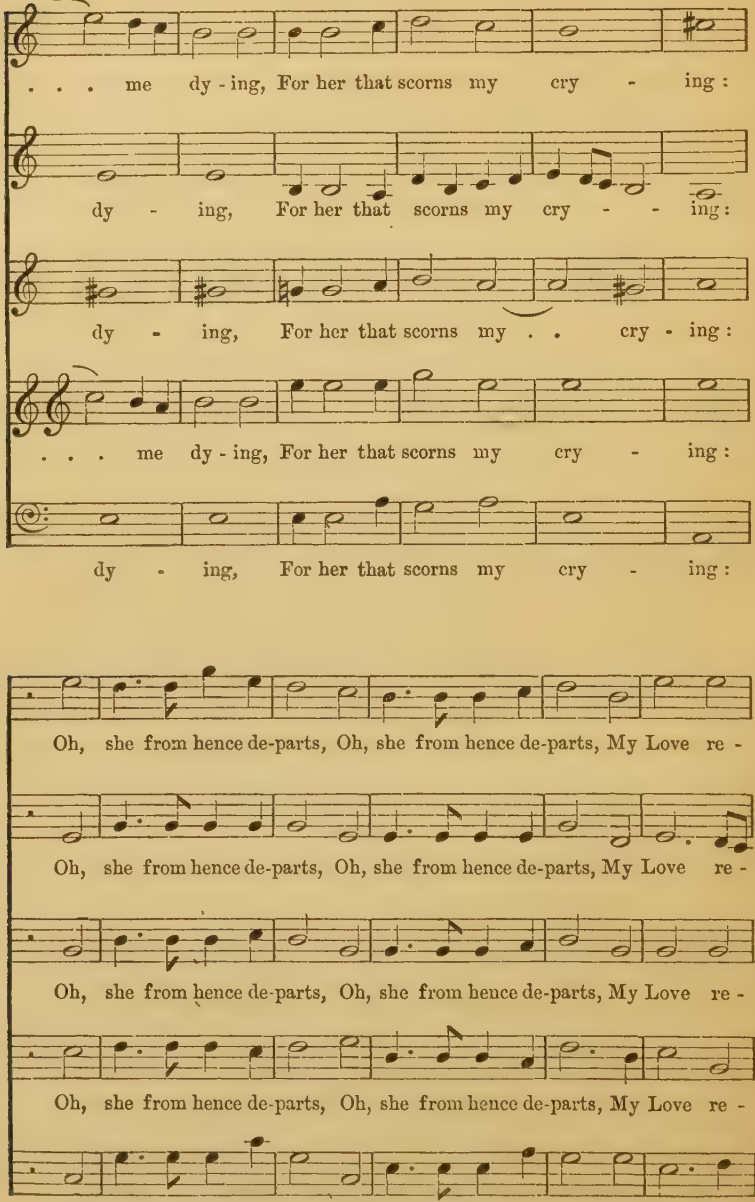

Nay, . what a death, Where the ty - rant Love com -
what a death, Where the ty - rant Love com - mand - eth, . com -
. . . what a death, Where the ty - rant Love com -
what a death, Where the ty - rant Love com - mand-eth, com- mand-
. . . what a death, Where . the ty - rant Love com -
-mand - eth!
-mand - eth! My flow-'ring days are in their prime de - clin - -
- mand - eth! My flow-'ring days are in their prime . . de -
- - eth! My flow-'ring days are in their prime de - clin - -
-mand - eth!

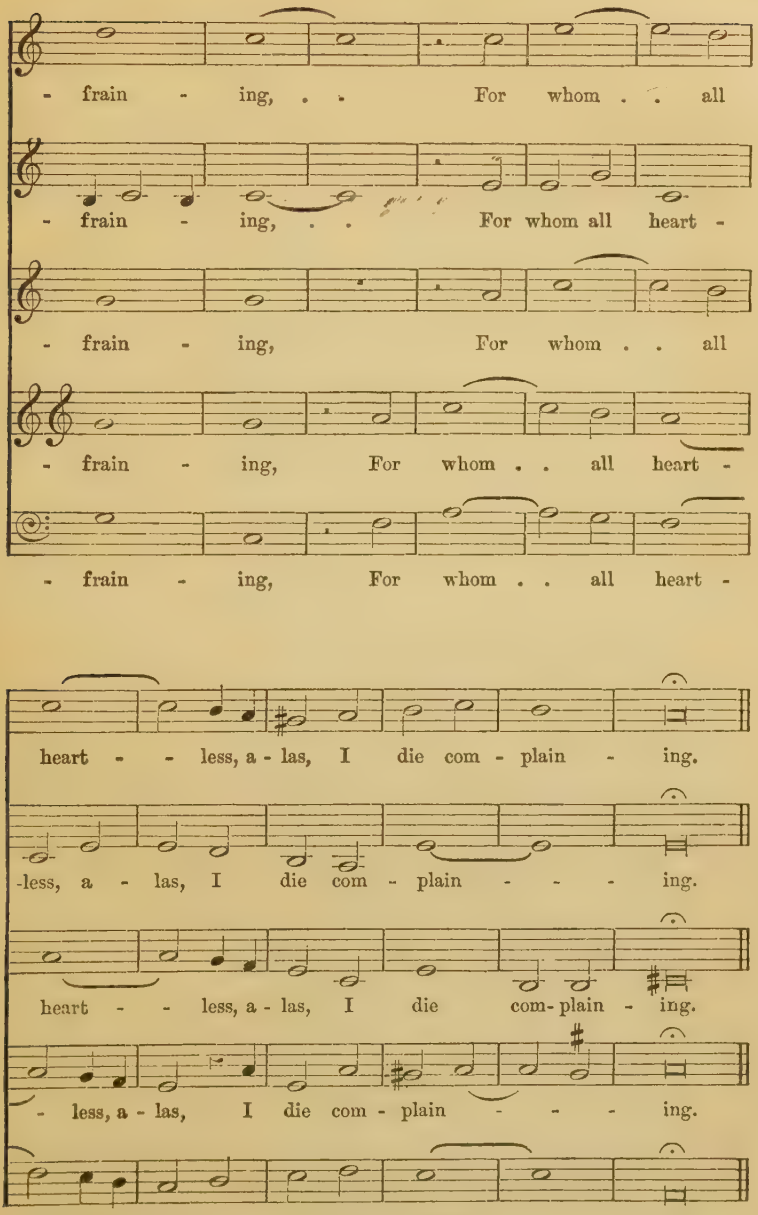

My flow-'ring days are in their prime . . de -
- ing, . . My flow-'ring days are in their prime de - clin - ing,
- - clin- ing, My flow-'ring days are in their prime de-clin - ing, .
- ing, . . My flow-'ring days are in their prime de - clin - -
My flow-'ring days are in their prime de - clin - -


- clin - ing, All my proud hope, quite fall'n, and .
All my proud hope, quite fall'n, and life . . un -
All my proud hope, quite fall'n, quite fall'n, and
- - - - ing, All my proud hope, quite
- ing, ... All my proud hope, quite fall'n, and


life un - twin-ing: My joys each af-ter o - ther, my joys each
- twin - - ing: My joys each af-ter o - ther, my joys each
life un - twin-ing: My joys each af-ter o - ther, my joys each
fall'n, and life un-twin-ing: My joys each af-ter o - ther, my
life un - twin-ing: My joys each af-ter o - ther, my joys each


af-ter o - ther, In haste are fly - - ing, And leave . .
af-ter o - ther, In haste are fly - ing, And leave me
af-ter o - ther, In haste are fly - - ing, And leave me
joys each af-ter o-ther, In haste are fly - - ing, And leave . .
af-ter o - ther, In haste are fly - - ing, And leave me


. . . me dy - ing, For her that scorns my cry - ing:
dy - ing, For her that scorns my cry - - ing:
dy - ing, For her that scorns my . . cry - ing:
. . . me dy - ing, For her that scorns my cry - ing:
dy - ing, For her that scorns my cry - ing:
Oh, she from hence de-parts, Oh, she from hence de-parts, My Love re -
Oh, she from hence de-parts, Oh, she from hence de-parts, My Love re -
Oh, she from hence de-parts, Oh, she from hence de-parts, My Love re -
Oh, she from hence de-parts, Oh, she from hence de-parts, My Love re -
Oh, she from hence de-parts, Oh, she from hence de-parts, My Love re -


- frain - ing, . . For whom . . all
- frain - ing, . . For whom all heart -
- frain - ing, For whom . . all
- frain - ing, For whom . . all heart -
- frain - ing, For whom . . all heart -
heart - - less, a - las, I die com - plain - ing.
-less, a - las, I die com - plain - - - ing.
heart - - less, a - las, I die com- plain - ing.
- less, a - las, I die com - plain - - - ing.
- less, a - las, I die com - plain - - - ing.

Palestrina.

In all that we have hitherto seen of the progress of polyphonic music we have observed in every school a steady advance, and an increasingly distinct revelation of an inherent beauty. Not only are awkward forms of melody, harsh or incomplete harmonies, and indeed all sources of weakness and poverty of effect, gradually eliminated by common consent, but the ingenuity of the school is stimulated by a healthy spirit of emulation to produce new forms, new methods for their combination, new devices of all kinds which may render the music more eloquent and more expressive. Similar phenomena are to be observed indeed in all arts, in considering the work of schools, whose persistent and indefatigable efforts are continued until advantage has been taken of every suggestion perceived in the material; and thus each school is seen as attaining to a relative perfection which represents its special view of the possibilities of the material. But it will generally be seen also that the final efforts in the work are made chiefly in one school, and by one man of unusual talent, who rapidly gathers, as it were, the incomplete and personal ideals of the various members, antecedent as well as contemporary, into one supreme method, in which is displayed the actual end towards which all efforts were unconsciously directed. His school then assumes a commanding position, and supplies the model upon which the work of the remaining associations is completed. The existence of such a chief, in the art of painting, already stood recorded, in 1550, upon the walls of the *Stanze* of the Vatican; and the part played formerly by Rafaelle, under Julius II and Leo X, was now to be performed again under Paul IV and Sixtus V, in music, by Palestrina.

We see therefore that the work which it fell to the lot of Palestrina to accomplish was chiefly, in its general relation to the technique of composition, a work of taste and judgement, consisting in the formation of a completely beautiful method from given materials; for it is probable that all the best

figures of contrapuntal melody, and most of their combinations, were already to be found in existing works, scattered among less beautiful and less expressive forms, awaiting selection to form an authoritative style. And for this duty Palestrina was well prepared, not only by his own genius but also by his education in the school into which he was born; for the ideals of the Roman school, though of course Flemish in origin, had been softened and beautified through the influence of the Italians and Spaniards of the Papal choir, and its music brought to exhibit the smooth and flowing quality which is characteristic, for instance, of the work of its well-known member and leader, Costanzo Festa.

But the view of Palestrina extended beyond the bounds of his native school. That he was also well informed with respect to the work of the Flemish composers, from Okeghem and Obrecht onwards, is clear, not only from his first published volume, which is full of scholastic devices, canonic and proportional, but also from his comparatively frequent adoption, from the later men, of points of imitation, which, however, he worked out in a manner different from the original. Like all great artists he scrupled not to appropriate that which he knew that he could turn to good use, and in an *Ave Maria*, for instance, in one of his volumes of Motetts for four voices, he has even taken as his closing point a phrase of about fourteen notes, already employed by Willaert in the same hymn, in a similar situation, and to the same words.

In considering the technique evolved by Palestrina from all these sources, it is chiefly by the remarkable qualities of the contrapuntal melody as a whole that our notice is attracted; for although, as has been said, the most important and most striking melodic figures—the closing phrases and the shorter points of imitation, for instance—were already probably in existence before the time of Palestrina in the works of the Flemish school, and although the tendency of the Roman composers in dealing with these forms was undoubtedly towards

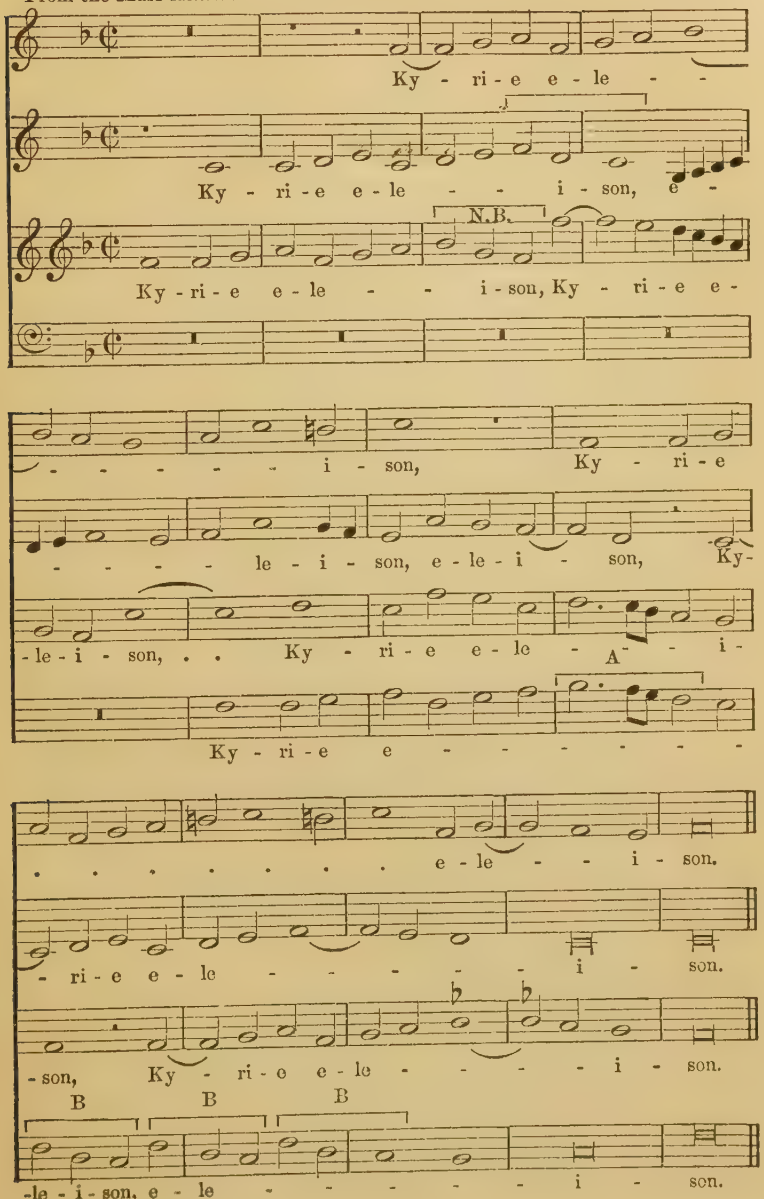
smoothness and beauty in their combination, yet the complete development of the current means and tendencies in an individual style of contrapuntal melody, learned yet simple, complete and exquisitely finished, such as that of Palestrina, had not hitherto been effected.

The governing principle, technically speaking, of Palestrina's melody is of course that of conjunct movement; this, however, is beautifully varied by the constantly changing value of the notes, and also by occasional disjunct intervals, which are permitted upon the condition of not continuing in the direction of the leap, but immediately returning by gradual motion towards the point of departure. This rule may also, of course, be deduced from the methods of Palestrina's predecessors since 1450, but there is in his application of it a certain final elegance, representing the ideal in such matters, which had been aimed at generally hitherto, but was now for the first time attained.

Yet though Palestrina's method finally settles the questions respecting conjunct movement and the general beauty and expressive qualities of the contrapuntal melody, exceptions to his rules may be found even in his own work, and especially as regards the continuance of the melody in the direction of a leap, a movement which sometimes, and most frequently in the bass or other lowest part, is so to speak thrust upon him, from its occurrence in the given subject or from some other necessity. Palestrina's conduct in such circumstances is often interesting, and remarkably so in the *Kyrie* of the Mass *Aeterna Christi Munera*, where the leap first occurs in the tenor or subject; he here seems, by frequent allusion, forcibly to draw our attention to the unusual figure, also showing (at A) how it might have been brought within the rule, and afterwards accepting it and (at B) repeating it again and again, in the bass, until we are quite reconciled to it.

Kyrie Eleison.

From the Mass *Aeterna Christi Munera.* Palestrina.

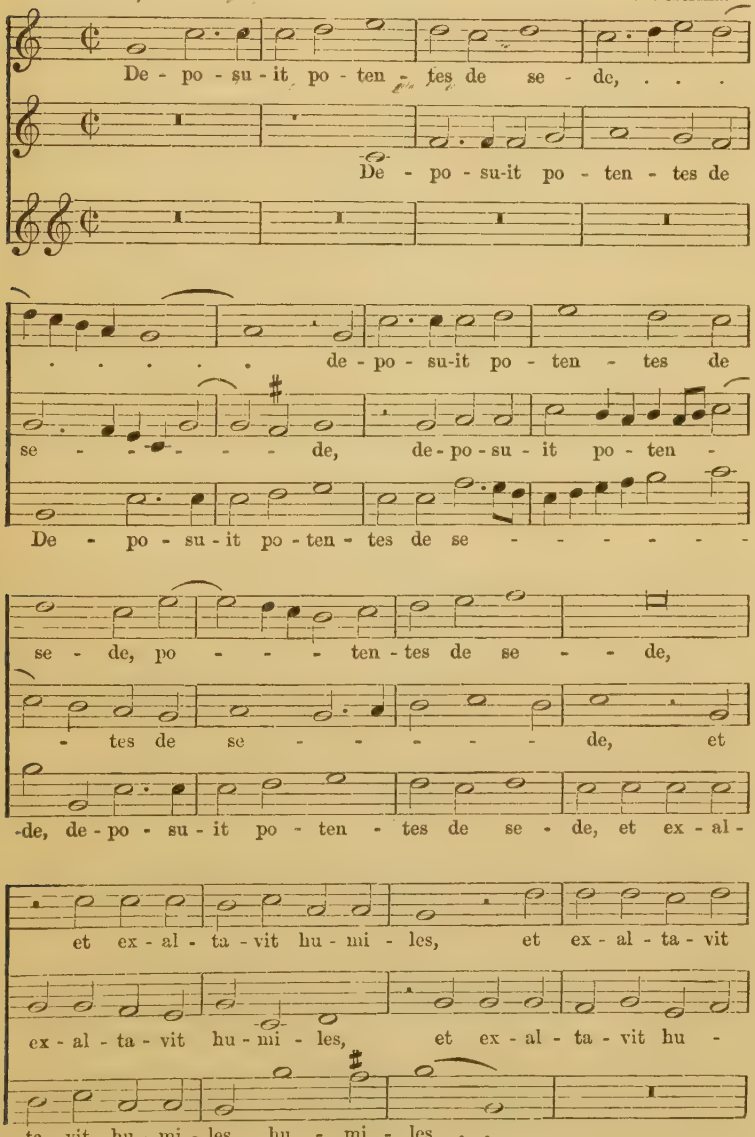

Ky - ri - e e - le - -
Ky - ri - e e - le - - i - son, e -
N.B.
Ky - ri - e e - le - - i - son, Ky - ri - e e -
- - - - - - i - son, Ky - ri - e
- - - - - le - i - son, e - le - i - son, Ky -
- le - i - son, . . Ky - ri - e e - le - A - - i -
Ky - ri - e e - - - - - - - -
. . . . . e - le - - i - son.
- ri - e e - le - - - - - - i - son.
- son, Ky - ri - e e - le - - - - - i - son.
B B B
- le - i - son, e - le - - - - - - i - son.

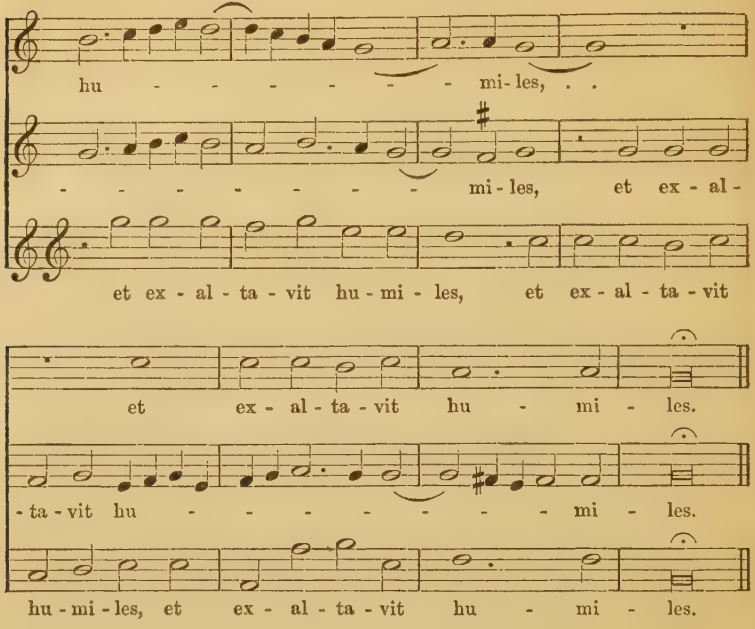
But not only does Palestrina adopt in his contrapuntal melody the most beautiful forms obtainable from conjunct movement; he also insists upon a modal treatment of the separate voice parts, a treatment, that is to say, which clearly displays the peculiar characteristics of the mode of the subject in its authentic and plagal forms. Josquin, as we saw—or perhaps we may even say Obrecht, in his *Parce Domine*,—began definitely to draw attention to this kind of treatment as desirable; but it is in the work of Palestrina that we first actually perceive it appearing as part of a settled method. The gain to music from the variety obtained by this clear definition of modal scales is very considerable, since the same character is perceived in the harmonic progressions proper to each mode, when based upon the true scale, as in the plainsong melodies themselves. It would be interesting to trace these characteristics through either or both of Palestrina's complete series of *Magnificats*, in which they are beautifully displayed, but the limits of our space render this quite impossible; we must be content with a specimen from one only of these admirable compositions, the *Deposuit* from a *Magnificat* in the seventh mode. In this work the characteristic note of the mode, F ♮, its minor seventh, is so used as not only to keep the peculiarities of the Mixolydian scale constantly before us, but also to render more exquisite the sweetness of the F ♯ in the cadences upon the final. Another lovely specimen of modal character in all the parts is the *Plange quasi virgo*, sung during Holy Week as an antiphon after the lesson from the Lamentations. This is in the third and fourth modes, and its strictness is marvellous if we consider the freedom and beauty of the harmony; the first phrase, for instance, upon which, occurring in all the parts, the whole of the opening is built, consists of three notes, of which the first and last are the final of the mode, and the remaining one its characteristic minor second.

MAGNIFICAT. Tone vii.

DEPOSUIT POTENTES.

Proske—*Musica Divina*, annus 1, tom. 3.
Ratisbon, 1861. Palestrina.


De - po - su - it po - ten - tes de se - de, . . .
De - po - su-it po - ten - tes de
. . . . . de - po - su-it po - ten - tes de
se - - - - - - de, de - po - su - it po - ten -
De - po - su - it po - ten - tes de se - - - - - - -
se - de, po - - - - ten - tes de se - - de,
- tes de se - - - - - - de, et
-de, de - po - su - it po - ten - tes de se - de, et ex - al -
et ex - al - ta - vit hu - mi - les, et ex - al - ta - vit
ex - al - ta - vit hu - mi - les, et ex - al - ta - vit hu -
-ta - vit hu - mi - les, hu - mi - les, . .

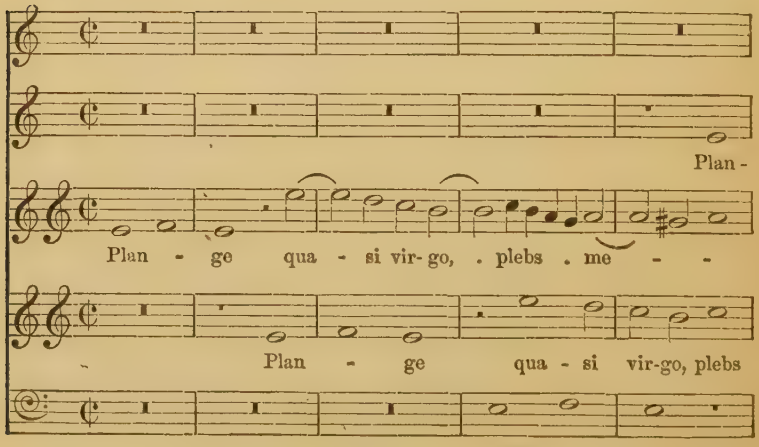

hu - - - - - - - mi - les, . .
- - - - - - - - - mi - les, et ex - al -
et ex - al - ta - vit hu - mi - les, et ex - al - ta - vit
et ex - al - ta - vit hu - mi - les.
- ta - vit hu - - - - - - - - mi - les.
hu - mi - les, et ex - al - ta - vit hu - mi - les.

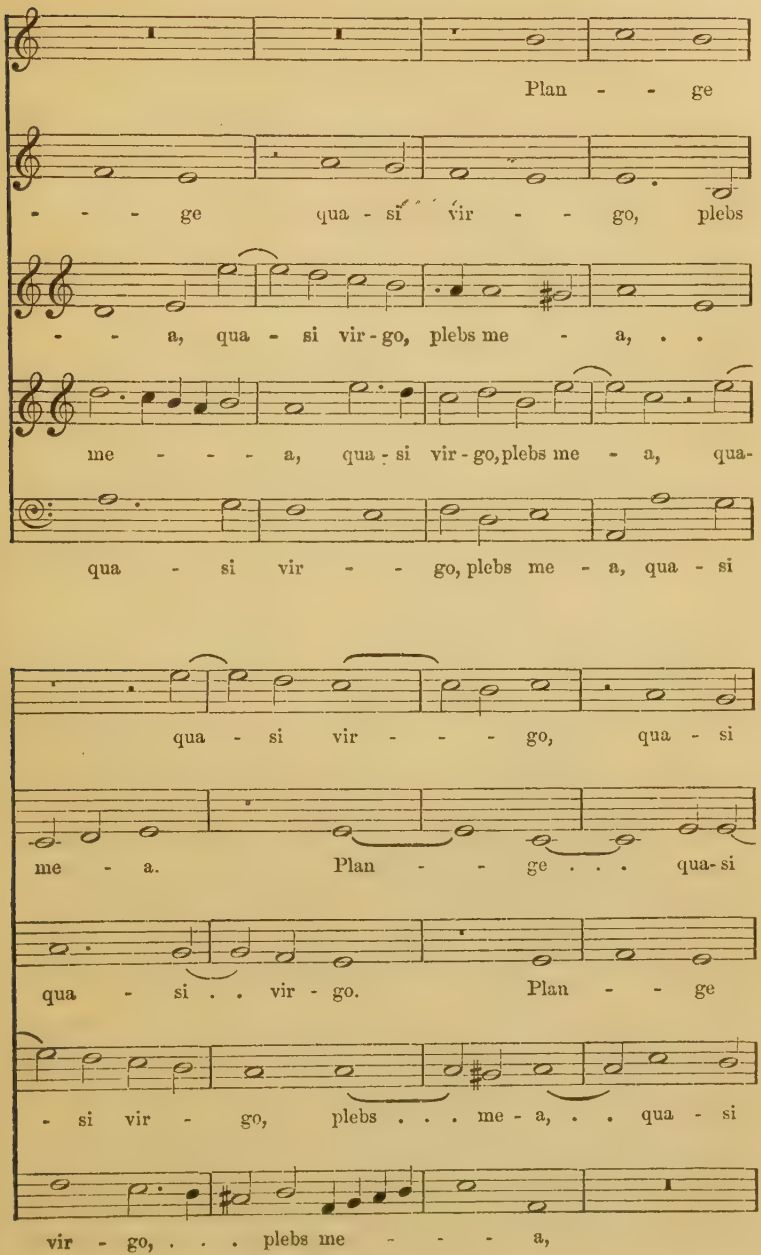
Responsorium.

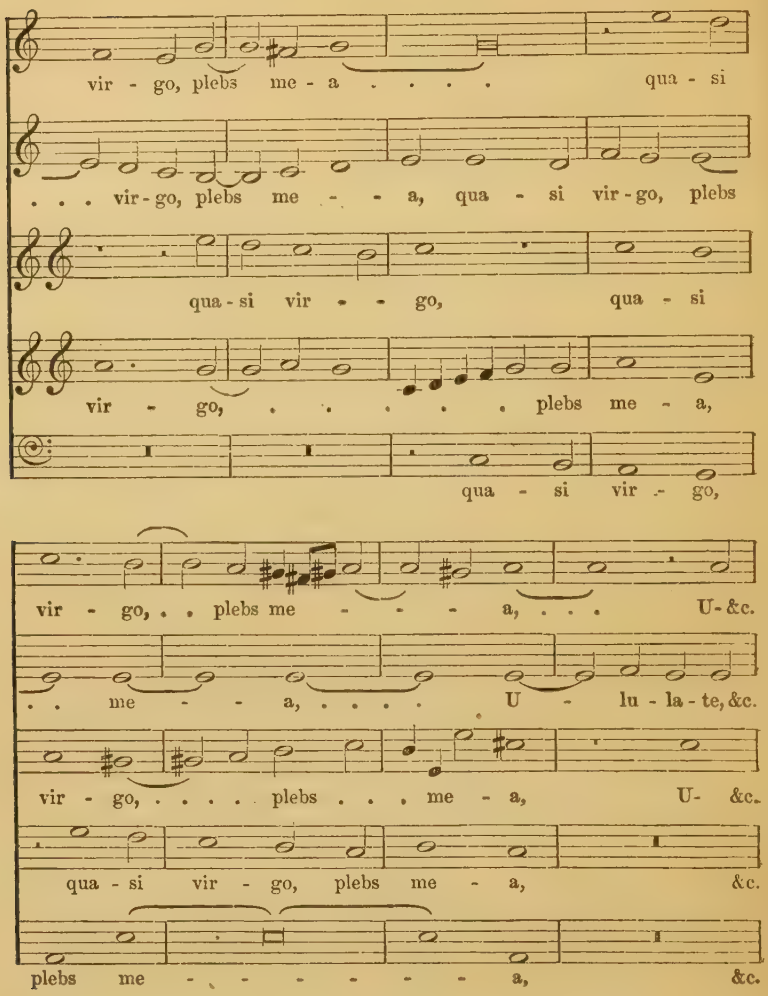
PLANGE QUASI VIRGO.

(Opening portion.)

From Paolucci. Palestrina.




Plan - - ge
- - - ge qua - si vir - - go, plebs
- - - a, qua - si vir - go, plebs me - a, . .
me - - - a, qua - si vir - go, plebs me - a, qua-
qua - si vir - - go, plebs me - a, qua - si
qua - si vir - - - go, qua - si
me - a. Plan - - ge . . . qua-si
qua - si . . vir - go. Plan - - ge
- si vir - go, plebs . . . me - a, . . qua - si
vir - go, . . . plebs me - - - a,


vir - go, plebs me - a . . . . qua - si
. . . vir - go, plebs me - - a, qua - si vir - go, plebs
qua - si vir - - go, qua - si
vir - go, ... plebs me - a,
qua - si vir - go,
vir - go, . . plebs me - - - - a, . . . U - &c.
. . me - - a, ... U - lu - la - te, &c.
vir - go, ... plebs . . . me - a, U- &c.
qua - si vir - go, plebs me - a, &c.
plebs me - - - - - - - a, &c.

But Palestrina was not content to secure the complete modal character of the melody of each voice as regards the scale alone. The modulations or appropriate closes also (identical, generally speaking, with the various endings of the 'Gregorian' tones) are made by him to contribute in a peculiar manner, and especially in motetts, to the variety of the expression. In this method, the voices, at the opening of the composition, proceed

more or less directly towards one of the principal modulations, and continue to be governed chiefly by it during the work. The variety to be obtained from this treatment is evident in our illustration, which gives in short score the opening portions of three motetts, all in the Dorian mode, but proceeding to different modulations. The first, *Ad te levavi oculos*—which, it may be said in passing, affords a fine example of the double leap upwards, in order to express the words—passes at once from the final to the fifth, D–A, and the modal harmonies most nearly connected with these notes, the triads of D, F, A, E, are afterwards heard continually in relations which soon become familiar; and these also create a particular impression, a certain hardness of sound, which renders this motett perhaps upon the whole less beautiful than many by this author. In our second example a less usual progression has been employed in the opening, a progression moreover in which *musica ficta* is employed in the fugue. Here the voices proceed at once towards G, the participant of the mode, which thus, associated with C and D, becomes exceedingly prominent in the composition. This conjunction is less hard than the former one, and creates a distinctly different effect; the opening especially exhibits a complete contrast to that which we have just examined. Our last example is from a work which is well known, the beautiful *Adoramus te Christe*, but it may be brought forward here as an example of the extreme suavity of effect which is obtained by proceeding towards the mediant of the mode, F. The chords of D, A, F, C, and occasionally B♭, which are the prevailing harmonies of this form, afford the most pleasing interchanges, and a smoothness almost as complete as that obtained from the Ionian combinations.

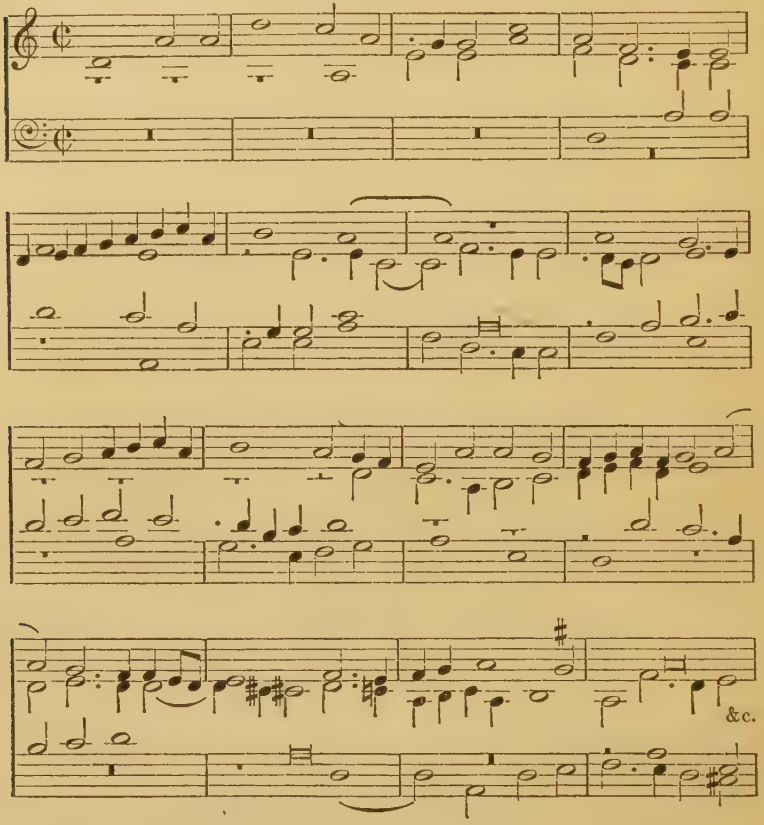
Thus we see that Palestrina, in his essential aim towards a complete yet broad melodic expression of the spirit of the words, had not only the twelve modes of Glareanus at his disposal, but also three or four special methods of treatment in each mode.

Motett.

AD TE LEVAVI OCULOS.

(Opening portion.)

From the Motetts for four voices. Palestrina.

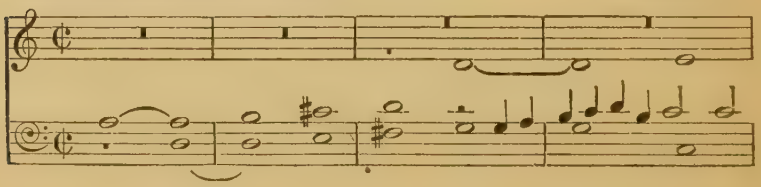


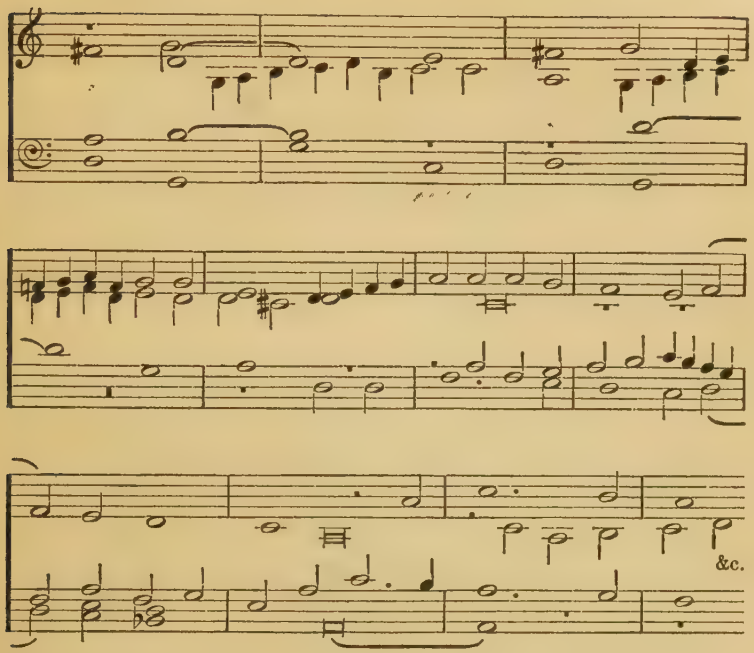
Motett.

NUMQUID SION.

(Opening portion.)

From the Motetts for four voices. Palestrina.



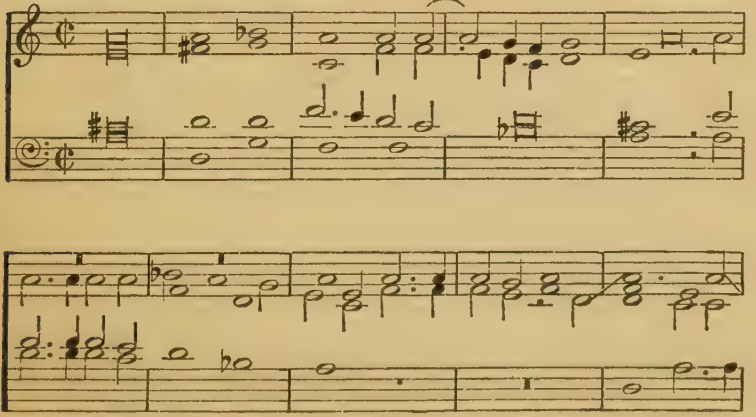


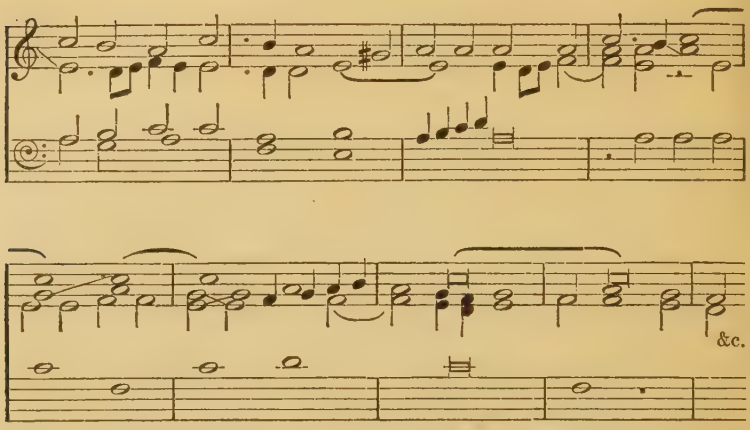
Motett.

ADORAMUS TE CHRISTE.

(Opening portion.)

From the Motetts for four voices. Palestrina.



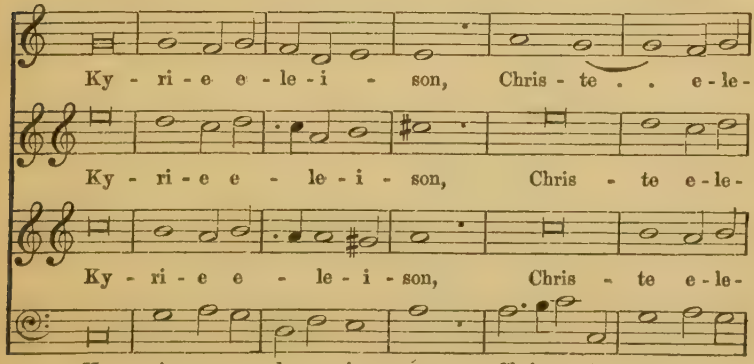


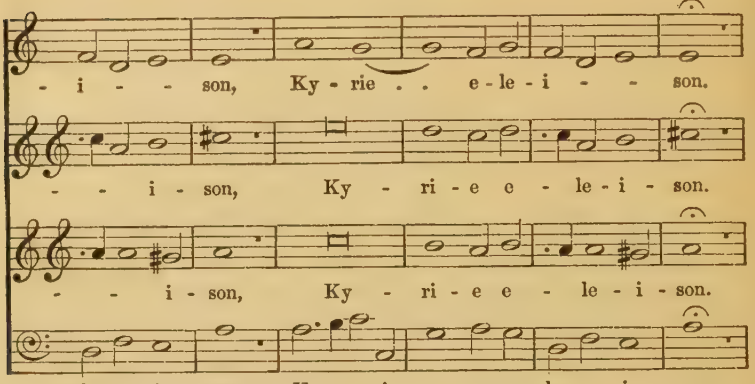
We have insisted upon the consideration of Palestrina's melodic methods, because it is by way of melody that the whole of his meaning and intentions are conveyed. His settlement of the laws of modal harmony, of the accompaniment of discords, of the ornamental forms of cadence, and of the absolutely best courses to adopt in approaching finality—for upon all these matters, for the complete explanation of which a separate volume would be necessary, it may justly be claimed for him that he said the last word in his own day and in his own state of things—is presented in the form of concurrent melodies, each of which pursues an untrammelled course, so apparently spontaneous that it is difficult to realize that any common end or purpose is proposed in them, or that they are pursuing any object beyond the exhibition of their own separate beauty; meanwhile, however, their mutual agreement has been carefully planned, and its development guided with the most scrupulous exactness in all the windings of the florid counterpoint, and through the long-drawn-out notes of the holding pedal. Even in the solemn chants of the *Improperia* and Litanies, which are constructed to all appearance mainly upon harmonic principles, the melodic character, though in abeyance during the recitation, appears in all the passages in which there is movement.

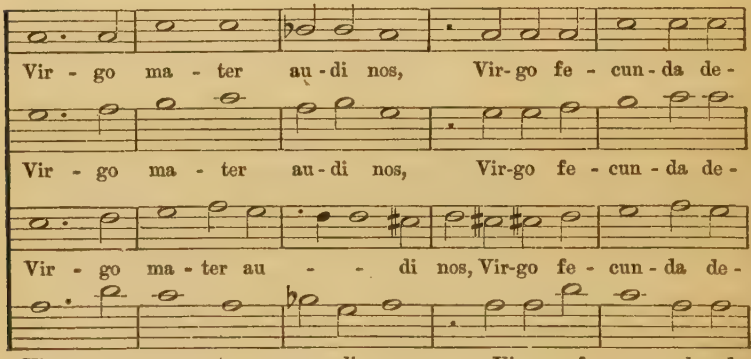
From the IMPROPERIA.

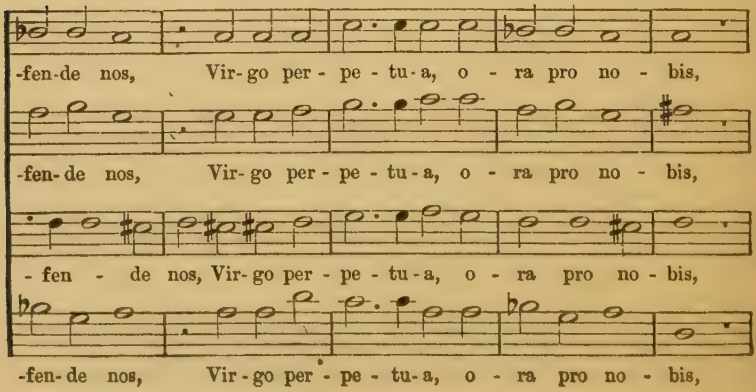
Populo meus, quid fe - ci ti - - - bi? Aut in quo contristavi te?
fe - ci ti - - - bi
Re - spon - de . . mi - hi. A - gi - os O The - os,
Re - spon - de mi - - hi.
A - gi - os i - schy - ros, A - gi - os a - tha - na - tos,
e - le - i - son i - mas, Mi - se - re - re no - bis.

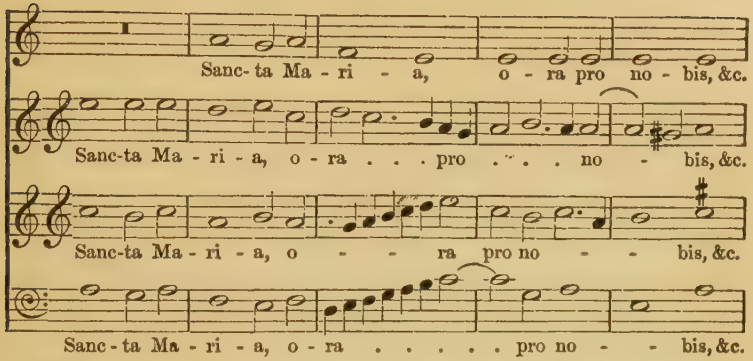
From Paolucci. LITANY of the B. V. M. Palestrina.




- i - - son, Ky - rie . . e - le - i - - son.
- - i - son, Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son.
- - i - son, Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son.
- le - i - son, Ky - ri - e . . e - le - i - son.


Vir - go ma - ter au - di nos, Vir - go fe - cun - da de -
Vir - go ma - ter au - di nos, Vir - go fe - cun - da de -
Vir - go ma - ter au - - di nos, Vir - go fe - cun - da de -
Vir - go ma - ter au - di nos, Vir - go fe - cun - da de -


-fen - de nos, Vir - go per - pe - tu - a, o - ra pro no - bis,
-fen - de nos, Vir - go per - pe - tu - a, o - ra pro no - bis,
- fen - de nos, Vir - go per - pe - tu - a, o - ra pro no - bis,
-fen - de nos, Vir - go per - pe - tu - a, o - ra pro no - bis,



The increasing tendency towards simplicity of means which is visible, as we have said, in the work of Palestrina, a tendency which may perhaps be thought to culminate in the beautiful Mass *Aeterna Christi Munera*, written three years before his death, has been generally considered as dating from the composition of the Mass of Pope Marcellus in 1563, and as having been then actually imposed upon the author by the necessity of saving the ecclesiastical choral music from extinction. It is true, if we accept Baini's account of the matter, that about that date the existence of polyphonic church music was threatened, and that the situation which formerly arose in the early days of the fourteenth century was now reproduced in many of its features; for the dissatisfaction of the clergy—again created partly by the obscurity into which the text of the Divine service was cast by the methods of the singers, and partly and more strongly by the adoption of objectionable secular songs as subjects for sacred composition [1]—had once more arrived at a climax, and the

[1] The choice of such songs as subjects was condemned by the Council of Trent because their words, being generally well known, would be present during the service, at least in the minds of those assembled even if they were not sometimes actually heard in the choir; but the senseless practice, on the other hand, of omitting any sort of text was almost equally blamed. It will have been observed that in many of our examples dating after 1450, taken from settings of the Mass, only the words *Kyrie, Et in terra, Patrem*, and so on, are given as text; the rest of the words, well known to all, were supposed to be supplied from memory and arranged as well as might be under the notes. This custom no doubt arose from the strong reluctance of the singers, at all times jealous of repute, to receive unnecessary help of any kind. But it is clear that when this concession

publication of an edict like that of John XXII was imminent; it would seem also that Palestrina's production of three Masses in a reformed style, at once simple and reverent, averted a decision which, though it might not have produced a prolonged effect, must have been at the particular moment and for some time afterwards disastrous to the art of music. But Palestrina had already at this time, though perhaps not perfectly in any Mass, long since adopted the simplicity of technique which is so characteristic of his finest works; for the Lamentations and the eight-part *Improperia*, in which his later methods are strongly foreshadowed, were earlier in date than the Mass of Pope Marcellus, which clearly therefore cannot have been the means of turning the attention of the composer to the advantages of simplicity. Nay rather, regarding on the one hand the advanced condition of music generally, at this time, and the consequent variety and complexity of its methods, and on the other the simplicity which notwithstanding the possession of immense resources controls the technique of the great Roman, and brings within the compass of a brief utterance the creations of a profound and comprehensive imagination, may we not say that the consistently increasing appearance of this quality in the work of Palestrina is the consequence and the sign of his artistic mission as the consummator of all things musical; and that it corresponds, in the form in which it is seen in his

had been made with regard to known words singers gradually ceased to take advantage of it, and, partly from esteeming the music as all-important and the words of less consequence, and partly from indolence, they preferred simply to vocalize the notes set down, giving the sound and no more. And this practice found so much favour among singers that it was followed even in the case of motetts also, and in other compositions in which the words, presumably unknown to the choir, were written in full under their proper notes. Morley indicates the practice very clearly (*Plain and Easy Introduction*, p. 204, Rep.) as prevailing even in his own day. In his remarks upon the Motett, and after his description of it as 'the kind of all others made upon a ditty which requireth most art, moving and causing most strange effects in the hearer, being aptly framed for the ditty, and well expressed by the singers,' he continues,—'But I see not what passions or motions it can stir up, being sung as most men do commonly sing it; that is, leaving out the ditty and singing only the bare note, as it were a music made only for instruments.'

compositions, to the sudden and final mastery appearing in some individual in the close of all arts, when he, by unconscious selection and without apparent effort or attention to detail, renders at a stroke the essential beauty and perfection towards which the art itself has tended since its first beginning?

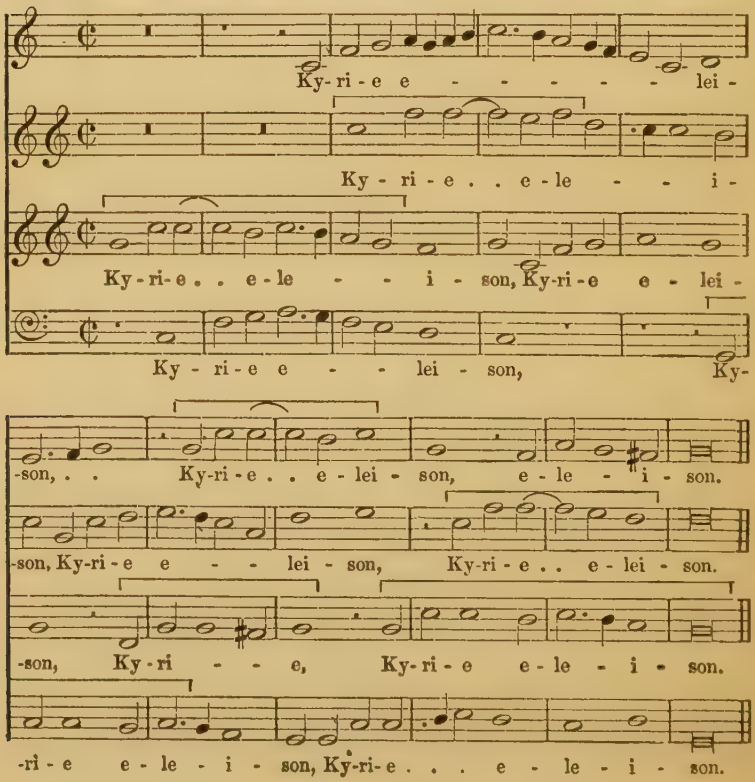
But our view of the work of Palestrina is not necessarily limited to that aspect in which it is seen as the consummation of the polyphonic art, for by virtue of this very circumstance it may also be regarded as the final and perfect expression of the principle which more than any other is embodied in the music of the Divine service, the congregational principle. The development of this principle being therefore identical with that of polyphony, there can be no necessity to make it the subject of a separate demonstration, and it may be sufficient, in this point of view, to notice that in the work of Palestrina not only is the concordant or collective element of the congregational principle absolute, but the individual element is raised to an ideal plane of perfect reverence and devotion; and just as we may say of the creations of the greatest formative artists that they represent beings in whose existence we can believe if we assign it to some other planet, so also it could be said with respect to the separate melodies of the most characteristic compositions of this master, that in them is heard the ideal rendering of the sentiments proper to the congregation in its individual aspect, expressed in a language which though it is in substance intelligible, is not of this world.

The work of the friends and followers of Palestrina may be said to reveal, quite as clearly as anything written by himself, the power and genius of the master; for notwithstanding every advantage of association and instruction, not one of them was quite like him, or ever able to attain to the special character of his interwoven melodies. Vittoria, the Spaniard, perhaps most nearly resembles him in technique, though he is more passionate and more obviously tender in expression than Palestrina. Soriano lacks both the more elaborate forms of technique

on the one hand, and on the other the strong devotional feeling of the master; his use, however, of the simpler forms displays fine taste, and perfect propriety, if not great intensity, of sentiment. G. M. Nanino also, though decorous, reveals but little of the kind of feeling proper to sacred music in his compositions for the church, displaying rather an elaborate knowledge of technique; in his madrigals, however, the technique is simple and the sentiment remarkably appropriate. Nanino was somewhat decadent in tendency, and his madrigals, by a curious chance—for it can scarcely be more—foreshadow in character some of those of the middle, and even of the latter half of the seventeenth century.

Kyrie Eleison.

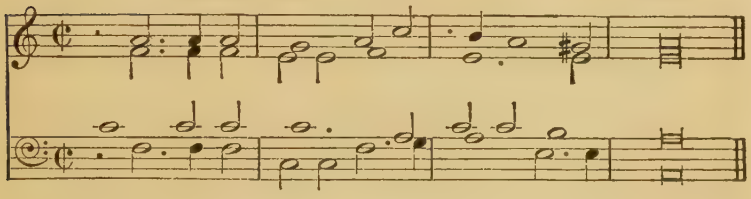
From the Mass *O quam gloriosum est regnum.* Vittoria.


Ky-ri-e e - - - - - lei -
Ky - ri - e . . e - le - - i -
Ky-ri-e . . e-le - - i - son, Ky-ri-e e - lei -
Ky - ri - e e - - lei - son, Ky-
-son, . . Ky-ri-e . . e-lei - son, e - le - i - son.
-son, Ky-ri-e e - - lei - son, Ky-ri-e . . e-lei - son.
-son, Ky-ri - - e, Ky-ri-e e-le - i - son.
-ri - e e - le - i - son, Ky-ri-e . . . e - le - i - son.

MAGNIFICAT. Tone iii.

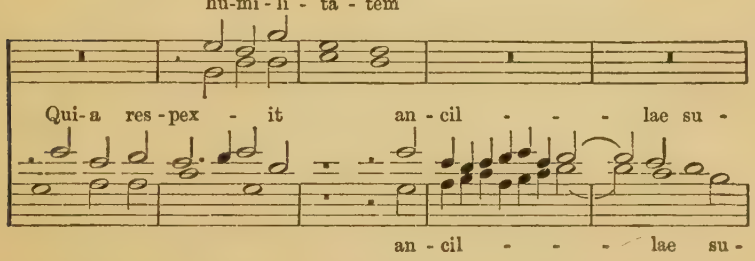
From Proske. Soriano.

A - ni - ma me - a ,Do - - - mi - num.



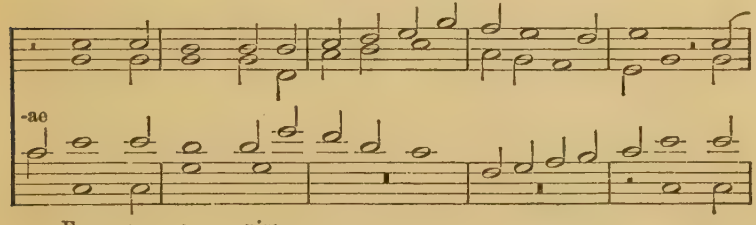
hu-mi - li - ta - tem

Qui-a res - pex - it an - cil - - - - lae su -



an - cil - - - - lae su -

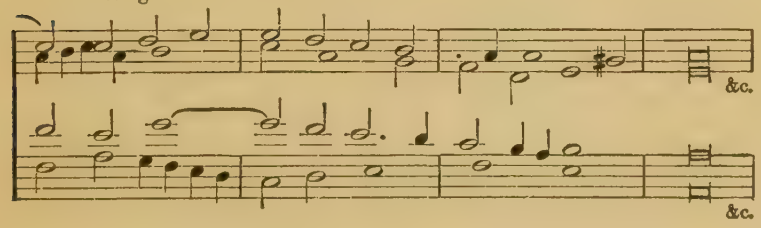
Ec - ce e - nim ex hoc be - a - tam me di - cent om -



-ae

ae, Ec - ce e - nim

- nes ge - ne - ra - ti - o - - - - - - - nes.



&c.

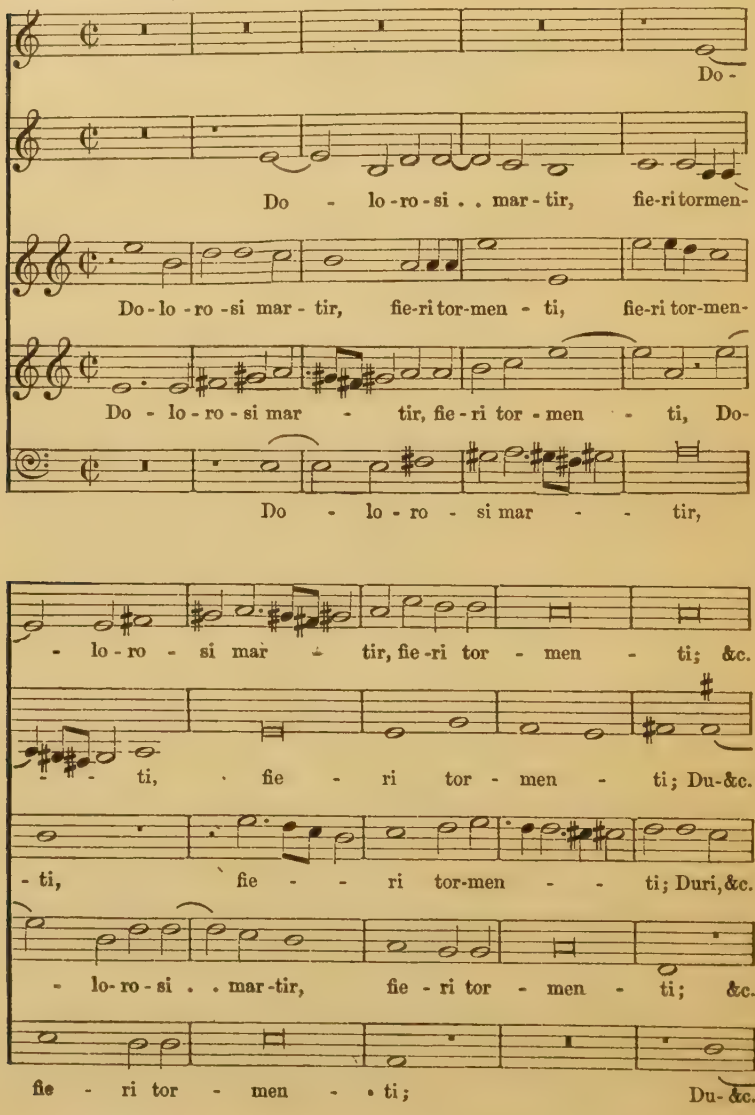
&c.

Madrigal.

DOLOROSI MARTIR.

(Opening portion.)

Madrigali a cinque voci, di
Gio. Maria Nanino, &c. Venice, 1581. G. M. Nanino.


Do -
Do - lo - ro - si . . mar - tir, fie-ri tormen-
Do - lo - ro - si mar - tir, fie-ri tor-men - ti, fie-ri tor-men-
Do - lo - ro - si mar - tir, fie - ri tor - men - ti, Do-
Do - lo - ro - si mar - - tir,
- lo - ro - si mar - tir, fie - ri tor - men - ti; &c.
- - - ti, fie - ri tor - men - ti; Du-&c.
- ti, fie - - ri tor-men - - ti; Duri, &c.
- lo - ro - si . . mar - tir, fie - ri tor - men - ti; &c.
fie - ri tor - men - ti; Du-&c.

After the death of Palestrina, which occurred at a critical moment in the history of the art, the methods of the Roman school became to some extent affected by the novel tendencies; and although the beautiful works of Paolo Agostini abundantly testify that the original methods maintained themselves firmly during the generation succeeding that of the great men, yet a certain timidity and poverty of resource—due partly to a natural decline, and partly to the depressing influence of the key system which was now beginning to overshadow the whole of music—becomes apparent. It must be confessed, however, that notwithstanding the destructive influence of the new methods the finest work of the later Roman school, musically speaking, is that which was performed in agreement with the general course of the art, producing in these circumstances a harmonic style—best exemplified perhaps in the works of Matteo Simonelli and his great pupil Corelli—remarkable alike for the grave beauty of its melody, and the extreme purity of its part-writing.

Nevertheless, through all the changes effected by the various movements of the succeeding centuries, a certain methodic nucleus, consisting of the most characteristic and essential rules of the great founder, has always been preserved in Rome, the influence of which may be seen not only in the work of Allegri and Pitoni, but even in the later compositions of Bai and of Baini himself; while in the present day, the scholastic style sometimes adopted by Dom Perosi, when writing for the Divine service, may be considered as an attempt to continue the traditions of a method suitable beyond all others to the expression of religious emotion.

INDEX

[*References to the second volume have* 'ii' *prefixed to their page number.*]

Absalon fili mi, ii. 228, 229.
Accoueillie m'a la belle, ii. 189.
Acts of the Apostles (Tye), ii. 341.
ADAM DE LA HALE, 319, 323, 327; ii. 23.
Fines Amouretes, 325; ii. 24.
Hareu li maus, 324.
ADLER, Guido, ii. 96.
Adoramus Te Christe, ii. 383, 385.
Ad organum faciendum, 77; ii. 40.
Ad Te levavi oculos, ii. 383.
Ἄειδε μοῦσα, 20.
Aeolian Key and Mode, 14, 26, 31, 32; ii. 198, 213, 229.
Aeterna Christi, 27.
Aeterna Christi Munera, ii. 376, 389.
Aeterne Rerum Conditor, 28.
Aeterne Rex, 27.
AGATHO, 36.
Agincourt. See *Deo Gratias Anglia.*
Agnus Dei, ii. 23, 26, 147, 162, 193, 195, 221, 244, 247, 257, 327.
Agnus Fili Virginis, 110, 308.
AGOSTINI, Paolo, ii. 395.
AGRICOLA, Alexander, ii. 240, 306.
AILRED, ii. 85.
ALAIN, ii. 153.
Alas departynge, ii. 128, 132.
Alas, what a wretched life, ii. 368.
Albanus (Mass), ii. 320.
ALBERT, John, ii. 300.
ALLEGRI, ii. 395.
Alleluia, 79, 132, 376; ii. 308, 313.
Easter, ii. 309.
Alleluia posui adiutorium, 179.
Alleluya ymera agias, 76.
Alle psallite, 372, 380.
AMBROSE, Saint, 26.
Amorose Viole, ii. 293, 295.
Amour qui rebaudist, ii. 8, 10.
Amours de P. de Ronsard, ii. 280.
Amphibrach. *See* Modes, Rhythmic.
Anapaest. *See* Modes, Rhythmic.
ANDREA (dei Servi), ii. 48.
ANDRIEU, F., ii. 40.
Angelus, 349, 373.
Angelus ad Virginem, ii. 105.
Annunciantes, 132.
Annunciavit, ii. 10.
ANONYMUS (Bellerman), 19. (British Museum), 153, 154, 160, 163, 177, 184, 207, 239, 247, 284, 322, 345; ii. 68. (Bibliothèque Nationale), 160, 163. (Cambrai), 149. (S. Dié), 111, 160; ii. 63.
Anthem, ii. 346, 351, 365.
Antiphon, 25, 28, 67; ii. 16, 88, 135, 143, 181, 378.
Antiphonal (Sarum), 92.
Antiphonary, ii. 90.
Mediceum, xi, 189 sqq., 352.
Notre Dame, xi, 153, 237.
Antiphony, 3.
A Paris, 372.

Apollo, Hymn to, 19.
Archadelt, ii. 286, 287, 360.
Aribo Scholasticus, 75.
Aristotle, 4.
Aristoxenus, 13, 21, 22.
Arnold de Lantins, ii. 172.
Arrigo, ii 48.
Ars Antiqua, ii. 1, 20.
Ars Canendi, ii. 212.
Ars Cantus Mensurabilis. *See* Franco of Cologne.
Ars Contrapuncti, ii. 68.
Ars Discantus, ii. 70.
Ars Nova, ii. 1, 12, 17, 41, 63.
Ars Perfecta in Musica, ii. 12, 13.
Ashwell, ii. 319.
Attaignant, ii. 277.
Aucun ont trouvé, ii. 7, 9, 10.
Audivi media nocte, ii. 330, 335.
Augmentation, ii. 209, 214, 220.
Aurelian of Réomé (*Musica Disciplina*), 33, 46.
Authentus, 34.
Ave Maria, ii. 271, 302, 375.
Ave Regina, ii. 160.
Avignon, ii. 89, 94, 96.

Baena, Lope de, ii. 307.
Bai, ii. 395.
Baini, ii. 96, 389, 395.
Balaam, 341, 349, 351.
Ballad, ii. 16, 24, 33, 40, 128.
Ballata, ii. 49, 286, 292.
Banaster, Gilbert, ii. 316, 319.
Barnard, ii. 365.
Bartolino (di Padua), ii. 48.
Basiron, ii. 192, 194, 211.
Bateson, ii. 367.
Bazzo, Giovanni, ii. 48.
Beata Virgo, ii. 356.
Beata viscera, 247, 350; ii. 16.
Bedingham, ii. 153.
Belgium, Music in, ii. 170, 211.
Benedictus, ii. 213, 217.
Benedictus Ducis, ii. 322.
Benedictus de Opicijs, ii. 322.
Benet, ii. 153, 162, 367.
Berno, 75.
Bianchi, Jacobello, ii. 48.
Binchois, ii. 143, 171, 172, 177, 187, 192, 211.
Boetius, 13, 22, 38; ii. 202.
Bologna MS., ii. 153, 181.
Bone Iesu, ii. 254. See also *O bone Iesu.*
Borek, Christopher, ii. 301.
Brassart, ii. 172.
Breve, 107, 116 sqq.; ii. 3, 42, 108. Rules for, 128.
Brevis Compilatio. *See* Marchettus.
Browne, ii. 319.
Brumel, ii. 193, 240, 241, 244, 246, 330.
Burell, ii. 144.
Burgundy, Music in, ii. 170.
Burney (*History of Music*), ii. 213.
Busnois, ii. 187, 188, 189, 211, 227, 245, 254, 314.
Byrd, ii. 325, 335, 365.

Caccia, ii. 49.
Cacciando per gustar, ii. 62.
Cadences, 167; ii. 39, 134, 187, 260.
Cambriae Descriptio, 161.
Canon, 321, 327; ii. 49, 59, 66, 181, 189, 192, 212, 215, 218, 276, 325, 341.
Canonici MSS., ii. 170, 177.
Cantilena, 176, 318; ii. 16, 23, 24, 25, 39, 48, 92.
Cantiones Sacrae, ii. 342, 355.
Cantus Ecclesiasticus, 184, 241, 246, 319, 339, 345; ii. 83, 91, 108, 228.
Firmus, 339; ii. 93, 193.
Mensurabilis. See Discant; Franco of Cologne.
Canzonetta, ii. 286, 292.
Capella, Martianus. *See* Martianus.

CARMEN, ii. 172, 176.
Carol, ii. 130.
CARON, ii. 187, 188, 189, 192, 211, 254, 314.
CARPENTRAS, ii. 259.
CASERTA, Philippus de, ii. 40.
CASSIODORUS, 33.
Catch, ii. 134.
Catholica, ii. 212.
Caudae, 249, 308.
CAUSTON, Thomas, ii. 350.
Cavalcando, ii. 59.
CELLINI, Benvenuto, ii. 260.
Ce moys de May, ii. 279.
Cent mille escus, ii. 185, 188, 276.
CERTON, ii. 280, 281.
CÉSARIS, Jean, ii. 40, 143, 171, 172, 173.
Champion des Dames, ii. 143.
Chanson, ii. 16, 167, 245, 251, 276, 284.
Chanson Balladée, ii. 24, 25, 36, 40, 49.
Chantilly MS., ii. 40, 171.
Chapel Royal, ii. 126, 144, 322, 340, 355.
  Paris, ii. 211.
Charge de deuil, ii. 257.
CHARLIER, Jean, ii. 92.
Che sunt amouretes, 149.
Chief bien séant, 127.
CHILSTON, 161; ii. 124.
Chi non sa, ii. 292, 293.
CHIRBURY, ii. 144.
Choriambus. *See* Modes, Rhythmic.
Christe qui lux es, ii. 301.
Christian Music, 24, 40. *See* Cantus; Ecclesiastical; Hymns; Motetts.
Chromatic scale, 13, 21.
Chromatic notes, 111; ii. 63.
CHYRBURY. *See* CHIRBURY.
CICONIA, ii. 172.
CIPRIANO DA RORE, ii. 292, 293, 360.
Citharodic Modes. *See* Modes.
Claerbuch, ii. 13.
CLÉMENT (Clemens non Papa), ii. 266, 274, 301, 360.
Climacus. *See* Figurae.
Clivis. *See* Figurae.
COMPÈRE, LOISET, ii. 254.
Conditor alme, 27.
Conductus, xiv, 176, 242, 245, 308, 317, 331, 338, 354, 371; ii. 17, 25, 41, 84, 102.
  Duplex, 255, 272, 309, 310, 313, 316.
  Quadruplex, 247, 305.
  Triplex, 293, 315.
CONSILIUM, ii. 277.
Consolamini, 29.
Constantes estote, 191, 339.
Contrary Movement. *See* Polyphony.
COOKE, ii. 144.
Copula, 238, 250.
CORBET, 254.
CORELLI, ii. 395.
Cornish MS., 91.
CORNYSCH, William, ii. 316, 318, 319, 330, 366.
CORREZZARIO (di Bologna), ii. 48.
CORSINI, Bonaiuti, ii. 48.
Così soave, ii. 290.
COTTO, John, 48, 77, 81, 83, 85.
Counterpoint, 166; ii. 20, 68, 69, 108, 147, 181 sqq.
COURTOYS, ii. 277.
COUSSEMAKER, footnotes, *passim*.
CRAEN, Nicholas, ii. 245, 252.
CRANMER, ii. 341.
Credo, ii. 55, 143, 181.
CREQUILLON, ii. 281, 284.
CROCE, Giovanni, ii. 299.
CROIX, Pierre de la. *See* PIERRE DE LA CROIX.
Cruci, cruci, Domini laus, 126.
Crux fidelis, ii. 155.
Cujusvis Toni (Mass), ii. 213, 217.
Cumque, 341.

Cunctipotens genitor, 86; ii. 65, 68.
Curia, ii. 81.
Custodi Nos, 112, 116, 248, 308.
CUVELIER, Jean, ii. 40.

Dactyl. *See* Modes, Rhythmic.
DAMETT, ii. 144, 145, 148, 149.
DANCKERTS, ii. 277.
DA RORE. *See* CIPRIANO.
DAVY, Richard, ii. 316, 319.
DE BRELLES, Georget, ii. 254.
De dringhs (Mass), ii. 244, 246.
DE FÉVIN, ii. 259, 261, 306.
De Franza, ii. 194.
DE GARLANDE, Jean, 112, 138, 139, 140, 141, 147, 152, 154, 156, 158, 163, 169, 239, 322, 332, 339, 344; ii. 21, 63.
life of, 153.
DE HANDLO, Robert, 123.
De ignoto Cantu, ii. 72.
DELATTRE, Roland. *See* Lassus.
DE LAYOLLE, ii. 259, 260, 264, 286.
Demenant Grant Joie, 347.
De mensuris et discantu, xi.
DE MURIS, Jean, 318; ii. 7, 21, 70, 85.
Julianus, ii. 21.
De Musica Libellus, 153, 157, 240.
Deo confitemini, 363.
Deo gratias Anglia (Agincourt), ii. 134, 137.
DE ORTO, ii. 240.
De Resurrectione, ii. 301.
De Sancto Antonio, ii. 244.
Descendit de coelis, 207, 208.
DE SERMISY, ii. 227.
DE SILVA, Andreas, ii. 259.
De Sinemenis, ii. 68.
DESLOUGES, ii. 277.
De Speculatione Musicae. *See* ODINGTON.
De tout sui si confortée, ii. 36.
De toutes flours, ii. 33.
Deus Creator, 28; ii. 95, 104.
DE VINEA, ii. 245, 249.
DE VITRY, Philippe, ii. 12, 14, 45, 68.
DE WERT, Giaches, ii. 292.
Diapason, Diapente, Diatessaron. *See* Monochord; Organum.
Diapason-triplex, 322.
Diaphony. *See* Discant; Organum.
Diatonic scale, 15, 21.
Dies est laetitiae, ii. 301.
Diex ou porrai-je, 126.
Diezeugmenôn, 9.
Diffusa est gratia, 215.
Diiambus. *See* Modes, Rhythmic.
Dijon, MS., ii. 167.
Discant, 76, 87, 102 sqq.; ii. 66, 84, 89, 202.
Supra librum, ii. 108.
Discantus Positio Vulgaris, 103, 106, 122, 143, 153, 157, 178, 238, 246, 339, 370, 373, 376.
Divisio Naturae. *See* SCOTUS.
DIVITIS, ii. 259.
Dix et sept, ii. 31.
Doce, 352.
Dolorosi martir, ii. 394.
Domino, 353.
Dona nobis pacem, ii. 320.
DONATO (da Cascina), ii. 48.
Dorian Key and Mode, 14–19, 20, 26, 32; ii. 87, 199, 383.
Double Choir, ii. 299.
Double-Octave Scale, 9.
DOULAND, ii. 366.
DUFAY, Guillaume, ii. 143, 171, 172, 179.
Second style, ii. 180 sqq., 193, 211, 214, 226, 238, 276, 300, 306, 314.
DULOT, ii. 277.
Dum Sigillum, 272.
DUNSTABLE, ii. 143, 153, 155, 164, 180, 193, 218, 226, 238, 276, 314.
Dupla, ii. 203, 204.
DUSSART, ii. 254.
DYOLET, ii. 145.

Ecce nomen Domini, 31.
Ecce quod Natura, ii. 128, 130.
Ecce video, ii. 252.
Ecclesiastical Modes. *See* Modes.
Songs, 131, 142. *See* Cantus Ecclesiasticus.
Music, ii. 81, 88, 112.
Music and Secular, ii. 276. *See* Credo; Kyrie; Mass; Motett.
EGIDIUS, Master, ii. 40, 48.
Ego dormio, ii. 245, 249.
Ego sum Pastor, ii. 301, 304.
Eius, 342.
ELEAZAR GENET. *See* CARPENTRAS.
Enchiaridis. *See* OTGER; *Scholia.*
ENCINA, Juan del, ii. 306.
ENGLAND, Modes in, 153.
Music in, 308, 319, 326; ii. 50, 94, 97.
Part-singing in, 161.
School of Composition, ii. 127, 142, 153, 181, 314, 365.
Enharmonic Scale, 13, 21.
ENRICO, ii. 48.
Error tertii soni, ii. 64.
Et in terra pax, ii. 19, 147.
Eton MS., ii. 315.
Et sans moi, 150.
Euge bone, ii. 325, 327.
EXCETRE, ii. 144.
Exemplum dictae rei (ad organum faciendum), 82.
Eximium decus, 127.
Extemporizing on Plainsong, 90, 167; ii. 210. *See* Faulxbordon.
Exultemus, 313.

Faburden. *See* Faulxbordon.
FAUGUES, ii. 254, 314.
Faulxbordon, 161; ii. 81, 93, 111, 115, 119, 121, 128, 147, 154, 167, 171, 182, 359.
FAYRFAX, ii. 316, 319, 320, 367.
Book, ii. 319.
FELZSTYN, ii. 300.
FEO, ii. 48.
FERRETTI, ii. 292.
FESTA, ii. 290, 375.
FÉVIN. *See* DE FÉVIN.
FFONTEYNS, ii. 144.
Figurae, 131, 240; ii. 15.
Currentes, 243.
Precedens, 242.
Table of, 133.
FINCK, Heinrich, ii. 255, 300.
Fines amouretes, 325.
FITZWILLIAM Virginal Book, ii. 355.
Florence MS., ii. 62. *See* Antiphonary (Mediceum).
Flos de Spina, 347.
FONTAINE, ii. 172.
FOREST, ii. 144, 153.
Foweles in the Frith, ii. 100, 105.
FRANCE, Discant in, 153, 161, ii. 4, 15.
Music in, ii. 22, 38, 41 sqq., 91, 98, 143, 154, 170, 211, 299.
Secular School, ii. 276.
FRANCISCUS (Master). *See* LANDINI.
FRANCO OF COLOGNE, 122, 138, 140, 147, 154, 156, 158, 176, 238, 241, 245, 317, 323, 338, 351, 355; ii. 1, 21, 86, 91.
FRANCO OF PARIS, 124, 317, 323.
Frottola, ii. 286, 292.
Fugue, ii. 50, 176, 212. *See* Canon.

GABRIELI, Andrea, ii. 299.
Giovanni, ii. 299, 302.
Garison, ii. 13.
GASCONGNE, ii. 277.
GASPAR, ii. 240, 242, 244, 247.
GASTOLDI, ii. 292.
Gaude Chorus omnium, 349, 371, 373.
Gaudent in Coelis, 32.
German School, ii. 255, 300.

Gerson. *See* Charliee.
Gervays, ii. 144, 153.
Gevaert's *Mélopée Antique*, 60, 65.
Gherardello, ii. 48.
Ghiselin, ii. 240, 245, 251.
Giaches. *See* De Wert.
Gibbons, Orlando, ii. 365.
Giraldus de Barri, 161.
Give almes, ii. 343.
Glareanus, ii. 198, 212, 244, 249, 252, 383.
Gloria, 352; ii. 17, 143, 181.
Gombert, ii. 266, 267, 280, 301, 307, 360.
Gorczycki, ii. 302.
Goudimel, ii. 280, 283, 360.
Gradual, 153, 237, 347, 348, 350, 353; ii. 16, 90, 300.
Gradualis (Byrd), ii. 355.
Gratia miseri, ii. 13.
Grazioso (of Padua), ii. 48.
Greater Perfect System, 9.
Greek Keys and Modes, 14 sqq.; ii. 87, 199.
Greek Scale, 1, 3 sqq., 8.
Gregorian Modes, 14; ii. 66, 75. *See* Modes, Ecclesiastical.
Gregorio, Padovana, ii. 48.
Gregory, Saint, 26.
Grenon, ii. 172.
Grimace, ii. 40.
Guglelmo (di S. Spirito), ii. 48.
Guido, 61, 64 sqq., 75, 77; ii. 40, 72, 229.
  Organum Suspensum, 84.
  (Italian Composer), ii. 40.
Guilelmus Monachus, 161; ii. 98, 112, 154, 169, 187, 207.
Guillaume de Machault. *See* Machault.
Guy, Abbot of Chalis, 88.
Gymel, 161; ii. 104, 112, 119, 120, 123.
Gyttering, ii. 144.
Hale, Adam de la. *See* Adam.
Hanboys, John, 124.
Hareu li maus, 324.
Harmony, 1.
Hasprois, ii. 172.
Hawkins, *History of Music*, ii. 213.
Hawte, ii. 319.
Hayl Godys Sone, ii. 135.
'He' (in Motett), 354, 358.
Helios, Hymn to, 30.
Hé mors, ii. 28.
Heniart, ii. 254.
Henry V, ii. 145.
Henry VI, ii. 143, 144, 322.
Henry VIII, ii. 322.
Hesdin, ii. 277.
Hesyll, Gerald, ii. 145.
Hexachordal System, ii. 72.
Heyden, Sebald, ii. 212.
Hieronymus de Moravia, 34, 123.
Hoc sit vobis iter, 83.
Hoffhaimer, ii. 255.
Holland, Musicin, ii. 300.
Holländer, Christian, ii. 301.
Holzer, ii. 255.
Homo erat in Ierusalem, 66.
Homophony, 3.
Honores mores, 129.
Hoquet, 176, 250; ii. 85.
Hostem superat, 357.
Hothby, John, ii. 112.
Hucbald of St. Amand, 46, 47.
Hugo de Lantins, ii. 172.
Huicut placuit, 143.
Hyllary, ii. 319.
Hymns, Ambrosian, 148.
  Christian, 25, 27, 92; ii. 73, 143, 181, 316, 319.
  Greek, 19, 30.
Hypatôn, 9; ii. 75.
Hyperbolaiôn, 9.
Hyperionian Key and Mode, 14.
Hyperphrygian Key and Mode, 14; ii. 244.

Hypoaeolian Key and Mode, 14; ii. 201.
Hypodorian Key and Mode, 14; ii. 87, 199, 323.
Hypoionian Key and Mode, 74; ii. 201.
Hypolocrian Mode, ii. 201.
Hypolydian Key and Mode, 14, 26, 32; ii. 87, 199.
Hypomixolydian Mode, ii. 201, 229.
Hypophrygian Key and Mode, 14, 26; ii. 87, 200. *See also* Iastian.

Iastaeolian Mode, 19, 27.
Iastian Mode, 26, 32. *See also* Hypophrygian Mode.
Ie have so longe kepe schepe, ii. 128.
Ignotus, 150.
Imitation, 112. *See* Canon.
Immolatus est Christus, 345.
Improperia, ii. 386.
In arboris, ii. 12.
In Bethleem, 126, 352, 360.
In going to my naked bed, ii. 366.
In melodiam moteti pisneme, ii. 305.
In nova sit animus, ii. 13.
In omni fratre tuo, 350.
In seculum, 350.
In te Domine speravi, ii. 301.
Intervals, consonant and dissonant, defined, 157, 251; ii. 20, 69.
Introitus, ii. 17.
Inversion, ii. 189.
Ionian Key and Mode, 14–19; ii. 199, 235.
Ipsi soli, 67.
I rede thou be, ii. 128, 129.
Isaak, Heinrich, ii. 254, 257, 300.
Isidore, Saint, 33.
Italy, and Greek Music, 12, 23, 24, 40.
Composers, ii. 40, 48.
Discant, ii. 4.
Music in, ii. 40 sqq., 94, 98, 154, 244, 286, 290, 360, 367, 374.
Iudea et Ierusalem, 188, 339.

Jacobus (di Bononia) ii. 48.
Jacopo (cobbler in Florence), ii. 48.
Jacotin, ii. 277.
Janequin, ii. 276, 279.
Jean de Garlande. *See* De Garlande.
Jean de Muris. *See* De Muris
Jean of France, ii. 23.
Jeanne of Navarre, ii. 23.
Je me complains, ii. 179.
Je nay deul, ii. 213.
Jennequin. *See* Janequin.
Je ny sçauroys, ii. 278.
Jerome of Moravia, 103.
J'espère et crains, ii. 281.
Jesu cristes milde moder, ii. 102, 133.
Je suis venut, ii. 189.
Joannes (de Cascina), ii. 48.
Joannes (de Flor^{a}), ii. 48.
Johann of Bohemia, ii. 23.
Johannes de Grocheo, ii. 16.
John XXII, Pope, ii. 89, 96.
John of Burgundy, 123.
John of Damascus, Saint, 36.
John of Fornsete, 332.
John of Salisbury, ii. 85.
Jongleurs, ii. 22.
Josquin Desprès, ii. 193, 211, 220 sqq., 254, 259, 378.
Judea et Jerusalem. *See Iudea.*

Keys, Greek, 14.
Kirbye, ii. 367.
Kyrie, 75, 86, 87; ii. 17, 18, 213, 217, 246, 259, 261, 302, 305, 376, 387, 392.

La Alfonsina, ii. 245, 251.
Lambe, ii. 144.
Lamentations (Tallis), ii. 342. (Palestrina), ii. 390. (Whyte), ii. 354.

LANDINI, Francesco, ii. 40, 47, 51, 154, 168.
LANTINS. *See* ARNOLD; HUGO.
Laqueus, 348, 353.
Large. *See* Maxima.
LASSUS (Orlando di Lasso), ii. 300, 359 sqq.
Latus, 344, 352.
Laudate Pueri, ii. 235, 241.
Laudes referat, 365.
LAUDEWARNAKE, R., ii. 145.
Laudi Spirituali, ii. 41.
L'autrier m'esbanoie, 129.
LAYOLLE. *See* DE LAYOLLE.
LENO, Antonio, ii. 208.
LEO (Léonin) of Notre-Dame, 153, 236.
LEO the Great, 33.
LEO X., ii. 96, 259.
LEONEL POWER. *See* POWER.
LEOPOLITA, Martinus, ii. 301, 302.
L'estat du monde, 150.
LHERITIER, ii. 259.
L'homme armé, ii. 220, 241.
Li ai fait houmage, ii. 8.
LIBERTH, ii. 172.
Lichanos, 9.
Li douz penser, 372, 384.
Li doz termines, 349.
Ligature, 125, 131, 133, 156, 238, 242, 328, 351. *See* Figurae.
Litany, ii. 386.
  Cranmer's, ii. 341.
Locrius, ii. 199.
Lombards, ii. 41.
LOMBART, ii. 277.
Long, 107, 116; ii. 3, 13.
  Rules for, 125.
LOQUEVILLE, ii. 172.
LORENZO (di Firenze), ii. 48.
LOTTI, ii. 302.
Low Countries, Music in, ii. 170.
Lozenge, ii. 7, 44.
LUDFORD, ii. 319.
LUDWIG, F., ii. 40.
LUPUS, ii. 259.
Lydian Key and Mode, 14–19, 26; ii. 87, 200, 244.
LYONEL. *See* LEONEL.

MACHAULT, Guillaume de, ii. 22 sqq., 48, 128, 147, 154, 168, 170, 172.
Madrigal, ii. 49, 51, 59, 62, 286, 290 sqq., 360, 366, 392, 394.
Magadis, 4.
Magadizing, 4, 45.
Magnificat, ii. 181, 307, 310, 330, 332, 361, 378, 393.
MALBEQUE, ii. 172.
Manere, 347, 353.
MARCHETTUS, ii. 41, 43.
Maris stella, 147, 149.
MARTIANUS CAPELLA, 13.
MARTIN LE FRANC, ii. 143, 169.
Mass, ii. 16, 21, 23, 90, 143, 167, 181, 194, 195, 213, 217, 220, 244, 246, 257, 259, 261, 300, 320, 325, 333, 376, 389.
Maxima, ii. 5.
MAYSHUET (Mayshurst), ii. 144.
Melody, Greek, 1.
MERKHAM, ii. 153.
Mese, 9, 85.
Mesôn, 9; ii. 75.
Metre. *See* Discant; Modes, Rhythmic.
MEYER, Professor, xii, 355.
Micrologus. *See* GUIDO.
Minima, ii. 7.
Mira lege, 95.
Miserere, ii. 163, 325.
Missa Papae Marcelli, ii. 389.
Missa Prolationum, ii. 212, 214.
Mixolydian Key and Mode, 14, 26; ii. 87, 201, 213, 254, 378.
Modena MS., ii. 153, 181.
Modern Modal System, ii. 200.
MODES, 15, 26; ii. 87, 198, 200.
  Citharodic, 18, 30.

Modes (*continued*)—
Ecclesiastical, 26, 34, 36, 39, 79, 143; ii. 87, 134.
Major and Minor, ii. 5.
Mixed, 147, 151, 169.
Perfect and Imperfect, 341; ii. 4, 11, 14, 28, 51, 149, 164.
Rhythmic, 122, 125, 138, 168, 240, 242, 251, 340; ii. 3.
Modi Divisio, 127.
Molinet, ii. 254.
Molins, P. de, ii. 40.
Molossus. *See* Modes, Rhythmic.
Monochord, 11; ii. 202.
Mon seul et sangle souvenir, ii. 188.
Mon seul voloir, ii. 173.
Montanus, ii. 301.
Montpellier MS., 143, 241, 347 sqq.; ii. 9, 41.
Morales, Christobal, ii. 307, 311.
Morley, Thomas, ii. 110, 124, 204, 206, 207, 210, 277, 292, 365, 367.
Motett, 142, 176, 318, 338, 339, 346, 351, 354, 357, 382, 384; ii. 7, 8, 12, 16, 23, 39, 83, 104, 143, 149, 193, 197, 226, 228, 241, 245, 249, 252, 254, 260, 263, 264, 267, 269, 271, 274, 301, 311, 322, 330, 375, 383.
Mouton, ii. 259, 260, 263.
Munday, William, ii. 350.
Muse, Hymn to, 19, 20.
Musica Enchiriadis. *See* Otger.
Musica Ficta, ii. 63, 134, 213, 383.
Musica Transalpina, ii. 367.
My cares comen ever anew, ii. 128.

Nanino, G. M., ii. 392, 394.
N'as-tu pas? ii. 247.
Nemesis, Hymn to, 19, 30.
Nesciens Mater, ii. 135, 139.
Nete, 9.
Netherland School, ii. 170, 211, 240, 325, 330, 358, 375.
Neumes, 75, 115, 116, 132, 142.
Newark, ii. 319.
Niccolò (di Proposto), ii. 48.
Nicholas of Posen, ii. 301.
Noë, Noë, ii. 260, 263, 264.
Non nobis Domine, ii. 229.
Northumberland, part-singing in, 162.
Nos qui vivimus, 58, 59.
Nostrum, 352.
Notation, 117, 328; ii. 12. *See* Sol-fa.
Notre-Dame, ii. 91.
Maîtrise, ii. 92. *See* Antiphonary.
Numquid Sion, ii. 384.

Oblique Movement. *See* Polyphony.
O bone Iesu, ii. 331, 337.
Obrecht, ii. 192, 195, 197, 211, 227, 238, 245, 375, 378.
Occursus. *See* Organum.
Ochetus. *See* Hoquet.
Odington, Walter, 34, 103, 105, 117, 119, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 147, 154, 156, 163, 177, 181, 238, 245, 317, 319, 327, 339; ii. 3, 24.
Odo. *See* Otger.
O Domine Jesu Christe, ii. 241.
Offertorium, ii. 17.
Okeghem, Johannes, ii. 211 sqq., 238, 245, 254, 306, 314, 375.
O labilis et flebilis, 310.
Old Hall MS., ii. 143, 149, 168, 315.
Oliver (Olyver), ii. 144.
O lux beata, 27.
O Maria beata, 128.
O Maria Mater Dei, 147, 149.
Omnes, 346, 352.
Omnes Angeli, 28.
O natio nephandi, 143.
O prayse God in His holiness, ii. 351.
Ordo, 340, 370; ii. 83.

Organum, 45 sqq.; ii. 93.
Communiter sumptum, 176, 178, 338.
Diaphony (Diapason), 50, 56.
,, (Diapente), 49, 56.
,, (Diatessaron), 50, 51, 56, 62, 68.
Duplex, 178, 189.
Free, 53, 60, 176, 177. *See* Organum Purum.
New, 72, 74, 89, 109.
Purum, xiii, 176, 189, 249, 271, 318, 331, 338, 354, 371; ii. 11, 41, 84, 109.
Quadruplum, 207, 223, 241, 243.
Rectum, 178, 339.
Suspensum, 85.
Triplum, 179, 207, 209, 243.
O Rosa Bella, ii. 167.
O salutaris, ii. 241.
Osanna, ii. 193, 194.
Ὅσον ζῇς φαίνου, 19.
Otger (Odo), *Musica Enchiriadis*, 47, 49, 61, 62, 75, 95.

Pagolo, ii. 48.
Palestrina, ii. 361, 374 sqq.
Parallel Movement. *See* Polyphony.
Paramese, 9.
Paranete, 9.
Parce Domine, ii. 193, 197, 228, 378.
Parhypate, 9.
Paris MS., 18.
Paschalis, ii. 301, 302.
Passio Domini, ii. 316.
Pastorella gratiosella, ii. 293, 297.
Pastyme with good company (Henry VIII), ii. 322.
Pater noster commiserans, 252.
Paulo, ii. 48.
Pause, 130, 146, 187, 271, 328; ii. 3.
Pavia MS., ii. 167.
Peñalosa, ii. 307.
Penitential Psalms (Lasso), ii. 361.
Pennard, ii. 144.
Perfect immutable system, 9.
Perosi, ii. 395.
Perotin, 150, 153, 223, 237, 241, 247, 271, 272, 293.
Pes. *See* Rondel.
Petrucci, ii. 321.
Petrum Cephas ecclesie, ii. 104.
Phelyppis, ii. 319.
Philip the Good, ii. 170.
Philippe de Vitry. *See* De Vitry.
Phrygian Key and Mode, 14, 26; ii. 87, 200.
Piero, Maestro, ii. 59.
Pierre de la Croix, ii. 6, 43.
Pierre de la Rue, ii. 240, 241, 244, 330.
Pietro, ii. 48.
Pindar (First *Pythic*), 19.
Pitoni, ii. 395.
Plagius, 34.
Plainsong, 78, 82, 84, 90, 111, 118, 181, 329, 339, 345; ii. 24, 66, 90, 93, 108, 146, 228.
Plange quasi Virgo, ii. 378, 380.
Planxit autem David, ii. 228.
Plica, 118. *See* Semibreve.
Plures errores sunt, 13.
Podatus. *See* Figurae.
Poland, Music in, ii. 300.
Polyphony, 1 sqq., 40, 45, 85.
Movement in, 72, 75, 83, 94, 165.
Pomerium. *See* Marchettus.
Pontifici decori, ii. 176.
Porrectus. *See* Figurae.
Porta, Costanzo, ii. 293, 295.
Power, Leonel, 161; ii. 114, 124, 153, 160, 167.
Pozzo (da Collegrana), ii. 48.
Prayse the Lord, ye children, ii. 343, 346.
Prolatio, ii. 6, 11, 14, 38, 44, 51, 89, 164, 210.
Proportional system, ii. 202, 212, 266.
Proslambanomenos, 9; ii. 75.
Prowett, ii. 319.

Psalms, ii, 226, 235, 342, 361.
PSEUDO-ARISTOTLE, 34, 105, 119, 149, 154, 156, 185, 240.
PTOLEMY, 13.
Modes, 15, 21.
Puer natus est, ii. 311.
Puisque m'amour, ii. 167, 276.
Puis que vous ayme, ii. 284.
Punctum, 116.
PURCELL, ii. 229.
PYCARD, ii. 144, 147.
PYGOTT, ii. 169, 319.
Pyrrhic. *See* Modes, Rhythmic.
PYTHAGORAS, Monochord, 10, 11.

Quadrupla, ii. 205.
Quam pulchra es, ii. 322.
Quand j'apperçoy, ii. 283.
QUELDRYK, ii. 144.
Quelz avis, ii. 13.
Quen of Evene, 316; ii. 133.
Qui sedes, ii. 326.
Qui servare, 354, 358.
Quoni, 352.

RABELAIS, ii. 277.
Radix Veniae, 346, 367.
Ratio multiplex, ii. 203.
Ratio superparticularis, ii. 203.
Rebaudist mon corage. See Amour qui rebaudist.
Reformation, The, ii. 340, 365,
REGINO, Abbot of Prum, 46.
REGIS, ii. 192, 211, 254, 314.
Regnat, 342, 347, 352.
REMY OF AUXERRE, 46.
Responsorium, ii. 380.
Rests. *See* Pause.
Rex coeli Domine, 53, 64, 66.
Rhythm, 103, 134, 148. *See* Discant; Modes.
RIBERA, Bernardino, ii. 307, 310.
RICHAFORT, ii. 266, 269.
RIEMANN, Dr., 161; ii. 96.
Ritornello, ii. 49.
Rondeau. *See* Rondel.
Rondel, 114, 176, 246, 319, 320, 323, 324, 325; ii. 16, 24, 31.
RONSARD, ii. 277.
Rorate, ii. 301.
Roratists, College of, ii. 300.
Rosa Bella, ii. 167.
Rota. *See* Rondel.
Round, 321.
ROY HENRY. *See* HENRY VI.

SAINT AMBROSE. *See* AMBROSE.
SAINT GEORGE, ii. 143.
Saint George's Chapel, Windsor, ii. 144. *See* Chapel Royal.
SAINT GREGORY. *See* GREGORY.
SAINT JOHN OF DAMASCUS. *See* JOHN.
SAINT STEPHEN. *See* STEPHEN.
Salicus. *See* Figurae.
Salvatoris Hodie, 292.
Salvatoris Mater, ii. 149.
Salve Regina, ii. 316, 318.
Salve Virgo, 315.
S'amours eust point, ii. 7.
SAMPSON, ii. 322.
Sancta Mater, ii. 307.
Sancta Trinitas, ii. 259, 261.
Sanctus, ii. 143, 148, 151, 220, 330, 333.
Sarum Antiphonal. *See* Antiphonal.
Scale, Greek, 9. *See* Diatonic.
Scholia Enchiriadis, 47, 49, 65, 76, 95.
SCOTUS ERIGENA, *Divisio Naturae*, 61.
Secular Music, ii. 275, 366. *See* Chanson; Madrigal.
Se la durezza, ii. 287.
Se la face ay pale (Mass), ii. 181, 182.
Selden MS., ii. 133 sqq., 153, 168.
SELESSES. *See* SEULECHES.

Semibreve, 120, 130, 136; ii. 9, 14, 15, 42, 203.
SENFL, ii. 255.
Sesquialtera, ii. 203, 206.
Sesquiquarta, ii. 203, 208.
Sesquitertia, ii. 203, 208.
SEULECHES (Selesses), Jean de, ii. 40.
Sexta hora, 69.
SHEPPARD, ii. 325.
SHERYNGHAM, ii. 319.
Si dedero, ii. 195.
SIGISMOND, ii. 300.
SIMONELLI, Matteo, ii. 395.
Sit Gloria Domini, 50.
SOHIER, ii. 277.
SOLAGE, ii. 40.
Sol-fa, ii. 71, 72.
Sonnet, ii. 281.
SORIANO, ii. 391, 393.
Spain, Music in, ii. 306.
Species (in Ratio), ii. 203.
STANLEY, ii. 153.
STEPHEN, Hymn, 92.
STOVE, ii. 153.
Stretto, ii. 189.
STURGEON, ii. 144.
Subsesquialtera, ii. 209.
Sumer is icumen in, 319, 326, 333, 357; ii. 49, 99.
Super flumina, ii. 267.
Supra coeligenas, 132.
Supranus, ii. 108.
SWYNFORD, ii. 144.
Synnemenôn, 9, 31, 69; ii. 65, 76.
System (Greek). *See* Perfect immutable; Greater Perfect; Lesser Perfect; Modern Modal.
SZADEK, Thomas, ii. 301, 305.
SZAMOTULSKI, Venceslas, ii. 301, 304.

TALLIS, ii. 325, 330 sqq., 355, 366.
Tanquam, 206.
Tanquam sponsus, 195, 352.
TAPISSIER, ii. 143, 172.
Tappster, Dryngker, ii. 134.
TAVERNER, ii. 325.
Tempus, perfectum and *imperfectum*, ii. 5, 28, 38, 42, 51, 149, 164.
Tenor, 143, 181, 346, 351, 371; ii. 50, 108. See Organum; Cantus Firmus; Trope; Motett; Plainsong.
Tetrachord, 9, 21, 31, 53, 64, 69; ii. 66, 75.
Thoma tibi obsequia, ii. 12.
THORLEY, William, ii. 145.
Three-part compositions, 47, 50, 112; ii. 135.
Time. *See* Tempus.
TINCTORIS, ii. 110, 126, 204, 207, 208, 254, 314.
Torculus. *See* Figurae.
TORRENTES, Andres, ii. 307.
Transposition, 13.
TRÉBOR, ii. 40.
Tribrach. *See* Modes, Rhythmic.
Trient MS., ii. 153, 167, 181, 254, 314.
Tripla, ii. 203, 205.
Triplum, 114, 355, 371; ii. 9, 17, 24. *See* Organum Triplum.
Tristre Plaisir, ii. 177.
Trite, 9.
Tritone, 30, 52, 55, 62, 65, 85, 111, 159.
Triumphs of Oriana, ii. 367.
Trochee. *See* Modes, Rhythmic.
Trope (of Kyrie), 86, 345.
Troper MS., Winchester, 75, 76, 90.
Troubadour, ii. 22.
Truncation, 250.
Tu che l'opera d'altrui, ii. 51.
TUDOR, ii. 319.
TUNSTEDE, Simon, 180; ii. 111.
Tu patris, 51, 55, 56.
TURGES, ii. 319.
TYE, ii. 325, 331, 340 sqq., 365.
TYES, ii. 144.

TYPP, ii. 144.

Ut queant laxis, ii. 73.
Ut tuo propiciatus, 92, 97.

VAILLANT, Jean, ii. 40.
Vatican Library, ii. 167.
VECCHI, Orazio, ii. 293, 297.
Veni ad docendum, 68.
Veni Redemptor, 28.
Veni Sancte Spiritus, 149, 371, 378; ii. 164.
Veni tradi, 128.
Venite adoremus, 70.
Verbum bonum et suave, 106, 248, 308.
VERDELOT, ii. 286, 360.
Veri floris, 308, 309.
VERMONT, ii. 277.
Vetus abit, 304.
Viderunt omnes, 223, 346.
Vienna MS., ii. 153. *See* Trient MS.
Villanesche, ii. 286.
VINCENZO, ii. 48.
Virga, 116.
Virgo decus, 371, 376.
Virgo Dei genetrix, 201.
Virgo Maria, ii. 242.
VITTORIA, ii. 391.
Vobis datum est, 29.
Voces mutatae, ii. 92.
Vox clamantis, ii. 274.

WAELRANT, ii. 286, 360.
Wales, part-singing in, 162.
WATSON, ii. 367.
WEELKES, ii. 367.
Westron Wynde, ii. 325, 341.
Whereto should I expresse (Henry VIII), 322.
WHYTE, Robert, ii. 350, 355, 365.
WHYTHORNE, ii. 366.
WILBYE, ii. 365.
WILKINSON, ii. 316.
WILLAERT, ii. 266, 271, 286, 299, 360, 375.
WILLIAM OF HIRSCHAU, 75.
Winchester Troper MS. *See* Troper.
WODEFORD, Thomas, ii. 145.
WODEHALL, Walter, ii. 145.

ZACHARIAS, ii. 48, 62, 171, 172.
ZARLINO, ii. 299.
ZIELINSKI, ii. 302.
. . . ZLEYN (composer), ii. 144.

Oxford: Printed at the Clarendon Press by HORACE HART, M.A.

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